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The Shape of Things

THE PRIMARY EMPHASIS OF THE TEHERAN agreement was on cooperation for the defeat of Germany, and the vast improvement in the military situation since it was signed is sufficient proof of how much it accomplished. But this very success is beginning to underline the inadequacy of the political clauses of the agreement. With Germany invaded on two fronts and with prospects for its collapse improving daily, the long-awaited second meeting of the Big Three cannot take place too soon. One of their first aims should be to attempt to dispel the belief that Teheran was the occasion of an old-fashioned imperialist deal. They could best do this by giving full publicity to their solutions for such problems as Poland and Greece; vague generalities about "full agreement on all points" are not going to satisfy the thirst for information in America and Britain. Germany seems likely to occupy top place on the agenda of the conference. If we wish to counteract the Goebbels line that "unconditional surrender" implies total annihilation of the Reich and slavery for all Germans, it would be well to announce authoritatively just what plans the Allies have in store for Germany. Obviously the terms imposed will be severe; about that the Germans themselves can have no illusions. But while they are left to assume the worst, many of them will be apt to heed Nazi orders to fight to the death. Only if we can make it clear to them that their future, while grim, is not unutterably dark, that when they have atoned for their crimes and renounced aggression they will be readmitted to the family of nations, can we hope to appeal successfully to them to oust their leaders and lay down their arms. Eventually, no doubt, our arms will be victorious, but an intelligent political offensive at this moment might well hasten the end and save many thousands of lives.

*

PREMIER KOISO HAS WEATHERED AT LEAST THE first stage of the political storm that has risen within Japan as a result of recent United Nations victories. But his grip on the helm of the Japanese ship of state can hardly be described as secure. The steady American march toward Manila, the continuing Chinese, British, and American victories in Burma, and the never-ending aerial bombardment of Japan's inner-island defenses and prime industrial establishments on the home islands are hardly likely to dispel the whirlwind of criticism that has risen about the Koiso regime. Nor is the Premier's acceptance of a new all-powerful totalitarian party in Japan likely to strengthen his grip. For the real power in Japan remains in the hands of the military extremists. At the moment Koiso is useful as a scapegoat to distract popular attention from the catastrophe which threatens Japan

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as a result of the policies which they have promoted. But having saddled the blame for Japan's plight on the Premier, the military clique will sooner or later be obliged to drive him from office in the same manner as they were forced to rid themselves of Tojo. Under these circumstances governmental crises are of course significant only in that they reveal the power of popular discontent even under an authoritarian regime.

✶

THE ISSUE OF CARPATHO-RUSSIA, WHICH EARLIER London reports indicated might occasion a fundamental rift in Czech-Soviet relations, appears to be merely a teapot tempest. Neither government involved shows the least sign of getting agitated. This small territory, bordering on Hungary and the Polish and Rumanian provinces now claimed by the Soviet Ukraine, was, at the outbreak of war, inhabited by some 300,000 Ruthenians of basic Ukrainian stock, 80,000 Jews, and 20,000 Magyars. By the treaty of 1919 it was made part of the Czechoslovak Republic, which contributed considerably to its educational and economic improvement by building schools, roads, and other public projects. In March, 1939, a few days before the Nazis moved into Prague, Hungary seized the territory. The Czech-Soviet pact of December 12, 1943, pledged that Carpatho-Russia would be returned to Czechoslovakia. Now it appears that certain genuine Ruthenian nationalists have been joined by former pro-Horthy quislings in pressing for a union between Carpatho-Russia and the Soviet Ukraine. It may be that the movement has received some encouragement from Kiev broadcasts. But those who anticipate a rift in Czech-Soviet relations overlook the sound common sense of Premier Benes and the determination of his government and Moscow to keep their pledges to the letter. If after the close of the war the Ruthenian majority decides by a plebiscite to change the national affiliation of Carpatho-Russia, Prague is not likely to stand in the way.

✶

MR. KING OF CANADA IS UNEASY OVER THE doings of the voters in Grey North, the Ontario electoral district that fronts on the icy shores of Lake Huron. For the voters have chosen two non-Liberal Party candidates to oppose Mr. King's Cabinet minister, General McNaughton, who must find a seat in the House of Commons so as to discharge his new duties as Minister of Defense. The two opposition candidates are the Mayor of Owen Sound, Garfield Case, who represents the Progressive-Conservative Party—only don't be fooled by the prefix—and Air Vice-Marshal A. E. Godfrey, nominated by the C. C. F. and backed to the limit by the Political Action Committee (P. A. C.) of the Canadian Congress of Labor. Reports indicate that it is anybody's race, and Mr. King is worried. On January 12 he addressed a special letter to the voters of Grey North pleading with them to get behind General McNaughton—all of them. On January 23 he wrote a second letter, rather brusque this time, with some unpleasant remarks for the Progressive-Conservatives and the C. C. F., and implying that if there was not a wholesale withdrawal of opposition candidates by nomination day (January 29) he might call for a speedy dissolution of Parliament and a general election. Mr. King does not want an election, if it can be avoided, until after the end of the European war. But a defeat of an important Cabinet minister would mean a sharp rebuff which Mr. King is unwilling to contemplate. If the election comes now it will be one of the most critical in Canada's history. For not only will it revive the bitter issue between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, but it will also draw the line sharply between those whose strength is firmly bedded in big business and those who hope for more radical economic and social plans for the post-war period. From all reports it will be the C. C. F. led by M. J. Coldwell, M. P., and not the Progressive-Conservative Party that will provide the main challenge to Mr. King for the support of the Canadian people.

✶

PURSUING HIS CAMPAIGN FOR GUARANTIES of a free press in the peace treaty, Kent Cooper, director of the Associated Press, has proposed that newspaper correspondents should be granted diplomatic immunities. This would mean, in effect, "the right to report news without hindrance, and protection against being expelled—should a correspondent become *persona non grata*—except by officials of his own country." Mr. Cooper's suggestion appears open to a number of criticisms. In the first place, since foreign offices would become responsible for the removal of any newspaperman pronounced *persona non grata,* they would naturally insist on "vetting" all applicants for correspondents' passports. Secondly, the grant of such privileges implies the assurance of a sense of responsibility in the recipients. We could name plenty of American foreign correspondents who have such a sense of responsibility, but we could also name a number of others in whom it is weak, if not entirely lacking. Worse still, however, is the irresponsibility of publishers and agencies, who not infrequently employ as foreign correspondents men who are completely ignorant of the language, history, and culture of the countries to which they are accredited. And worst of all is the fact that a few publishers habitually issue instructions to their correspondents to slant the news in accordance with editorial policies. Maybe such abuses are more common in other countries, but our hands are not so clean that we can afford to hold them up in holy horror. If Mr. Cooper and his fellow-nabobs of the newspaper industry want to improve the status and prestige of foreign correspondents, they might well interrupt their preaching to the heathen in order to examine their own consciences.

✶

JUDGE PHILIP L. SULLIVAN'S FINDINGS IN THE Montgomery, Ward case may be good law, but they seem to us to be based on very poor economics. The government contended that the President's right to take over the Montgomery, Ward plants was based on Clause 3 of the War Labor Disputes Act, or alternatively on his extraordinary powers as commander-in-chief. Judge Sullivan stressed the point that the act only authorized the seizure of "any mine, plant, or facility equipped for the manufacture, production, or mining of any articles or materials which may be required for the war effort." Relying on standard dictionary definitions, he declared that production and distribution "were not synonymous," and since Montgomery, Ward was mainly en-

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gaged in retail trade, it could not be treated as a producer. This seems to us an example of legal pedantry. In a highly integrated economy it is difficult to say where production ends and distribution begins. Moreover, Montgomery, Ward cannot be treated as having no more significance than a corner grocery. As a supplier of farmers on a very large scale its operations certainly contribute to the productive process. In the matter of the President's war powers, the Judge found that while in cases of extreme urgency they might cover the seizure of private property, in this instance there was not an "immediate, imminent, and impending" danger to the public interest to justify resort to this procedure. But the President, it seems to us, was bound to consider not only the immediate effects of an interruption of operations at Montgomery, Ward but also the secondary effects of Mr. Avery's defiance on the whole delicately balanced war-labor program. It is the whole trade-union movement that has given the anti-strike pledge, and it is not possible to draw an industrial demarcation line on one side of which strikes are permissible or to hold labor to its undertaking while leaving employers uninhibited. As W. H. Davies, chairman of the War Labor Board, has said, if the Sullivan decision is not reversed or if Congress takes no action to make the board's orders effective, "the whole plan of peaceful settlement of war-time labor disputes will collapse."

*

THE NEW JOINT WPB-OPA CONTROLS OVER THE production and pricing of clothing promise to plug, at least in part, the most serious loophole in the war-time stabilization program. While retail prices for food and most other items in the average man's budget have been held almost stationary during the past year and a half, clothing prices have risen at least 11 per cent in the same period. Since the greater part of this increase was attributable to the disappearance of low-cost goods, the new regulations have been drawn up with the specific purpose of increasing the output of the cheaper grades of clothing. This will be achieved by granting priorities on raw materials to manufacturers provided that they sell their finished product at no more than the maximum average prices prevailing in the first half of 1943. Thus in order to obtain raw materials manufacturers are required to produce approximately the same proportion of the cheaper grades as they did two years ago. Direct controls over quality and the amount of trimming to be used have also been established wherever possible. Retail prices are to be reduced in some instances, and many articles are to be marked with specific OPA dollar-and-cents prices. Although there seems to be little doubt that the new regulations will relieve current shortages in low-priced articles somewhat, the OPA is still hampered in its struggle against deterioration in quality by Congressional limitations on the creation of clearly marked standards of quality which can be understood by the consumer.

*

THE TERRITORY OF ADULT EDUCATION, ALMOST untrod in this country, is being boldly invaded by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the party now in power in the Province of Saskatchewan. Watson Thompson, director of the new program, says that the ambition governing his work is to see half a million adults in his province become active and intelligent participants in the business of running their own public affairs and reshaping their environment. Toward that end, and in cooperation with other government agencies, the Department of Education will provide both rural and urban areas with the materials for "study and action." District libraries will be set up for the dissemination of public information. District centers will be built, with facilities for every phase of recreation and study, where the media of film, radio, and press will be employed. Conferences and lecture- discussion classes under the guidance of experts will be held to solve the immediate problems of the community and to view them in their broad perspective. The entire project, as it is outlined in the department's release, has the imprint of real enthusiasm and purpose. And those are qualities which the educational systems of our democratic nations badly need. The lack of them has been responsible for a loss of human and intellectual resources which, had they been properly exploited, might have offered a solid wall of resistance to the fascist teaching of our time. Had they been properly exploited, no army psychiatrist would have found it necessary to say that the mental age of the American soldier is somewhere between thirteen and fourteen.

Constantin Oumansky

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Mexico City, January 28 (by Cable)

IT WOULD be impossible in New York to imagine the emotion felt here at the horrible accident that killed Ambassador and Mrs. Oumansky and most of the Russian embassy staff. Even the great news of the eastern front was pushed into second place in the press and in the minds of the people. Especially in government and diplomatic circles everyone seemed stunned. When President Avila Camacho was told the news, he was unable to speak for many minutes, and the effect on other officials was almost as violent. Although the immediate investigation ordered assumes that the tragedy was a pure accident such as happens every so often in even the best-regulated air force or airline, the plane that crashed was the personal plane of General Cárdenas, and the pilot was rated the best in the force. The fact that Oumansky was traveling in an army rather than a regular passenger plane was the combined result of his own desire and the amiability of the Mexican government. At a Foreign Office dinner he recently had expressed the wish that he could go direct to San José without stopping en route, as he would have to on a commercial flight. When Cárdenas heard of Oumansky's remark, he immediately offered his own plane, postponing an official army inspection trip to accommodate the Russian ambassador. It was an act of courtesy characteristic of this generous people and of Cárdenas in particular; that it ended in tragedy seems peculiarly cruel.

But the dismay here was even greater than the sudden and horrible nature of the accident would explain. To understand it one must also understand the role Oumansky has played in this country and his remarkable personal position

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here. In the first place, he was immensely popular in both official and private circles. Everybody liked him, and his almost fabulous social success must have modified considerably the fear of Russia that has long dominated upper-class groups here as elsewhere. I had met Oumansky during previous periods in the United States, but I was not prepared for his exuberant good spirits, charm, and vitality. Mexico seemed to have released qualities Washington kept under constraint. His intellectual energy and his limitless curiosity were equally impressive. He lacked completely the appearance of caution and reserve that characterizes Soviet officials even more than others. Above all, he was passionately interested in Mexico and identified himself to a degree unheard of among diplomats with the life and activities of the Mexican people. Critics of Oumansky imply that this was all deliberate diplomatic strategy; if so, it should certainly be studied and emulated by other Allied ambassadors.

I sat next to Oumansky at dinner at the French legation just a few nights before his death, and he talked with the greatest apparent freedom on international and particularly inter-American relations. He had no illusion that fascism would be ended by the impending defeat of Germany. He had followed in minute detail developments all over Latin America and was convinced that this hemisphere would be the scene of a terrific struggle against fascist tendencies that are already well rooted. This conviction obviously controlled his attitude toward other problems, including the future of Spain. It also led him to work energetically for better relations not only between Russia and the Latin American republics, but also between these countries and the United States. The last problem is acute and complicated. Oumansky understood that the fight against fascism in the Americas demanded the closest cooperation among the Allied powers and the pro-democratic forces of this hemisphere; for this reason he consistently promoted better feeling and did his best to counteract the mistrust of American policy which would make necessary collaboration impossible. His influence was strong among just those intellectual and political groups where mistrust particularly prevailed and where official American propaganda or diplomatic effort could have least useful results. For this reason if for no other his death should cause grave concern in the United States.

After dinner the other night Oumansky talked at length about Germany. His views become more interesting as the Red Army pushes toward Berlin. He deplored the tendency of liberal opinion, including *The Nation,* to cling to the hope of effective democratic forces inside Germany. He believed that such elements had been totally eliminated by exile and the terror. He advocated the most rigorous punishment of all responsible Nazi functionaries and army men and spoke of the generals and other officers who had surrendered to the Russians as a group that could be used but not trusted or given power. If the Soviet ambassador was expressing the settled view of his government, we may expect not only tough treatment for Germany as the Russian armies advance but a long period of total political as well as military control.

In arguing against the existence of widespread anti-Nazi feeling among the German people Oumansky said he had spent several weeks examining some sixty thousand letters of Ukrainians, mostly girls and women, who had been deported to Germany for forced labor in factories, homes, and farms. In the whole collection he found only a handful that mentioned an act of kindness or even ordinary humanity; the great mass revealed through those indirect phrases that have now become the lingua franca of oppressed and terrorized people the brutal or indifferent treatment of their German masters, who evidently accepted the Nazi attitude toward the "slave peoples" of Europe. Oumansky's comments, although given informally and unofficially, probably represent the typical Russian feeling and are therefore important. The wholesale horror of the Nazi occupation, especially in Russian and eastern European regions, should never be forgotten when one speculates on the policies likely to be applied to Germany.

F.D.R. to Jesse Jones

AN IMAGINARY LETTER

DEAR JESSE: This is a very difficult letter to write for I have never liked firing people. Because of this weakness on my part, and because of our long personal friendship, I have retained you in office in spite of the fact that you have never been whole-heartedly behind my policies, that at times you have gone behind my back to Congress to get my directives set aside, and that if you did not actually encourage the Texas revolt last year, you did little to discourage it. Now, however, I am asking you to resign so that I may appoint Henry Wallace to the positions you hold.

Henry Wallace deserves almost any service he can satisfactorily perform. Although I have not always treated him with consideration, his loyalty to me personally and to the Neal Deal has never faltered. When I failed to back him up at Chicago and he lost the vice-presidential nomination, he generously put aside his disappointment and worked with the utmost devotion for the ticket, asking nothing in return.

But this is not the reason why I am asking him to be Secretary of Commerce. I am doing that because I believe he is uniquely qualified to direct that department in its tasks of developing and carrying out the economic policies I have recently outlined to the Congress. He is qualified not only by his administrative experience—and as Secretary of Agriculture in a most difficult period he proved his ability in that respect—but by his wide knowledge and imaginative understanding of the economic problems both of our own country and the world at large. I know it is fashionable to sneer at Henry as a dreamer, but to my mind he is a very practical dreamer, and I think that the thousands of farmers who have benefited by his hybrid-corn experiment will agree with me.

In my budget message to the Congress on January 10, I said: "The American people have learned during the war the measure of their productive capacity, and they will remember that experience in the peace to come. It is the responsibility of business enterprise to translate market opportunities into employment and production. It is the responsibility of the government to hold open the door of opportunity and assure sustained markets. Then, and then only, can free enterprise provide jobs."

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If this responsibility is to be fulfilled, if these objectives are to be attained, we shall have to use the powers of the national government vigorously and imaginatively. We shall have to see that the war plants we have built are reconverted to active peace-time production and are not allowed to fall into the hands of giant monopolies which seek to maintain prices and profits by creating artificial scarcities. We shall have to foster and finance small business. We shall have to take positive steps to insure an adequate flow of purchasing power to workers and farmers, for we can only produce at capacity when these groups can enjoy maximum consumption.

Henry understands these needs and believes in the policies by which I hope to achieve them. Do you, Jesse? I think not. By experience and temperament you are unfitted to implement a program of this kind. In your direction of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiary organizations you have always shown a predilection for big business. In contracting for supplies of raw materials you have consistently erred on the side of caution. "Too little and too late" can be fatal in peace as well as in war. You are trained to believe that a conservative financial policy can never be risky. But let me assure you that prudence, as defined by bankers, may well prove the most dangerous sort of risk-taking in the years ahead. If we fail to provide jobs after the war, if we fall again into a state where unemployment becomes a chronic condition, we shall risk losing everything —our financial stability, our system of private enterprise, even our constitutional liberties. It is because Henry understands this danger and you do not that I am asking you to stand down in his favor.

Always sincerely,

(*Signed*) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"Look Here Upon This Picture . . ."

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 28

JESSE JONES, attended by an obsequious flunky, arrived twenty-five minutes late. Senator George, in a Southern drawl, had been reading what seemed an interminable list of the RFC's lending powers—publicly owned bridges . . . subscriptions to the preferred stocks of banks . . . insurance companies . . . mining loans. The great man's entrance interrupted the monotonous and painfully dull recitation, and evoked a burst of applause from the crowded Senate caucus room. Except for a row of G. I.'s, one of them a coal-black little Negro, those who turned out to hear Jones at the first day's hearing before the Senate Commerce Committee did not look like enthusiasts for a century of the common man. There was a lady with a lorgnette, quite a number of Grant Woodish faces, a sprinkling of upper-class females of the type known to the irreverent as battle axes, with lips turned disapprovingly down at the corners. Within the huge hearing room and in the long line waiting patiently along the marble stairs outside was evidence that the business-like RFC was relaxing in loyal half-holiday.

Jesse Jones

A covey of camera men, some standing, some kneeling, proceeded to shoot Jones from all angles. The Texan has an arrogant face devoid of sentiment or sentimentality, with a stubborn money-lender's mouth. He chewed gum. George, who is obviously no demagogue, went on for twenty minutes longer, reading "by way of argument" his compilation of the RFC's loan authorizations, a breviary of state capitalism. This roll call of the powers Henry Wallace could, if confirmed, exercise over the whole domain of private enterprise was designed to create an atmosphere of quiet horror. Jones listened with obvious satisfaction, and when at the end of George's long summary Senator Pepper asked George a question, Jones rose in lordly unconcern and walked out of the hearing room. When Jones returned and was summoned to the stand, he unbent in a little joke his followers seemed vastly to appreciate. "I thought when I came in here," he told the committee, "what about the gate receipts?" The thought was in character.

The man chosen to run the Federal Loan Agency, Jones said in his prepared statement, should not be one "willing to jeopardize the country's future with untried ideas and idealistic schemes." "Have you," Bailey asked him helpfully, "ever used your powers as Loan Administrator and RFC chairman for the purpose of determining the economic character or the social character of this country?" "I certainly have not," was the answer. Jones pictured himself as just a little business man who had to keep on his toes to deal with the men who come to the RFC for loans. "They are awfully smart," he reflected, implying that somebody was smarter. "You know we are the sugar," he told the committee, "and there is where the flies are. Where the money is, that is where the moochers are, and the moochers have not all been in WPA. They are in business. Men come to us for money that are not entitled to it. . . . Unless a man is experienced in business, he is liable to make a lot of mistakes." Jones warned that the discretion given the RFC "could easily be abused either by inexperience, visionary planning, or a disregard of the taxpayers' money."

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Jones saw no need to be falsely modest or less than candid. The powers given him by Congress had caused him to lie awake nights with worry and to work twelve hours a day, seven days a week, for twelve years, ever since becoming head of the RFC. "I think it is too much authority," he said of his two jobs as Federal Loan Administrator and Secretary of Commerce. Senator Bailey, chairman of the committee, intervened when Pepper wanted to know whether one man, "if he is competent," could not fill both jobs. Bailey angrily ruled the question "not pertinent. . . . I do not think it is fair to Mr. Jones." But Jones saw no need to avoid an answer. "If you are trying to ask me if Henry Wallace is qualified for both jobs," he said, "I will say no." The answer was greeted with applause. "I do not believe," he confessed, "there is another man in the world that will do it except me." As for the men he had chosen to run the RFC, they were, he said proudly, "plodders—not smart, just plodders." Not much was heard about the RFC because it was run by "men experienced in business, by men who haven't any ideas about remaking the world." (Laughter and applause.)

Henry A. Wallace

The line began to form outside the caucus room at 8 a.m. the next morning to hear the man accused of having ideas about remaking the world. But this was a different crowd; there were fewer mink coats, more soldiers. It was a younger group, with many well-known New Dealers among them. Especially the old-timers from the Department of Agriculture. Mordecai Ezekiel was there and Louis Bean, and there were cheers when Wallace appeared at the door and made his way through the crowd, grinning. The camera men gave him a workover as complete as Jones's, and Vandenberg shouted from the committee table, "Get that 1948 pose." The sergeant-at-arms appealed for order, and the chairman warned against demonstrations. Wallace took his long prepared statement out of a bulging briefcase and began to read it, at first nervously, then more slowly as he gained confidence. His voice grew deeper, and he read with great firmness. Even the young camera men, whom nothing awes, squatted on the floor in front of the committee table, listening.

In personality, as in ideas, Wallace provided a sharp contrast with Jones. Wallace is fifty-six, Jones seventy-one; but it was more than the difference in age that made the Iowan seem youthful by comparison. Wallace is awkward, still a bit the hayseed, not too agile in answering questions. He has a laugh that is almost a giggle. He is not clever. His statement lacked the professional touch of the public-relations counselor. It was sometimes eloquent, but it was also occasionally tedious. But as one listened and watched the man, one felt that he spoke for the conscience of America, for all that is best in our country, its naive idealism, its irrepressible optimism. One felt that it was a historic occasion. He did not seek to placate the committee, to trim his sails, to gloss over his fundamental beliefs. He laid out his post-war full-employment program with courage, zest, and passionate sincerity. He has Jefferson's wide-ranging mind and Lincoln's homely human goodness, and the committee was impressed despite itself.

Except for Pepper, who fought a lonely battle in his behalf, no committee member present at the hearing was sympathetic to Wallace's ideas. The faces at the committee table might have been duplicated at any well-to-do business men's gathering. The composite impression was of big cigars and heavy jowls. It was not until one looked more closely that one began to discern individual features: Bailey's sickly-hued De Valera face, Vandenberg's heavy cheeks and high balding forehead, Brewster's almost eagle-like gauntness, Radcliffe's late Roman profile, Burton's small, swarthy, and saturnine face, O'Daniel's big round pumpkin of a head, little Bilbo hunched down in his chair. The fifteen-to-four vote for the George bill to strip the Secretaryship of Commerce of its lending powers and the fourteen-to-five vote against confirmation are indications of how hostile the committee was. The majority of its members would have liked a witch hunt, but somehow the hearing became a kind of economics seminar. Wallace's frankness, his good humor, his obvious honesty disarmed them. The quality of the man got across. They didn't know quite what to do with him.

At one point the committee seemed to be on the point of slipping into a familiar pattern. "I would like to call your attention," Senator O'Daniel said, "to a book supposed to be authored by you entitled 'Whose Constitution?' You have not changed your mind as to the ideas expressed in that book?" But when Wallace answered, "Probably not, Senator," O'Daniel did not pursue the matter farther. Bailey tried hard to get a firm hand on this strange creature but soon found himself involved in an academic discussion of equity financing. The best Brewster could do was a miniature stump speech on the injustice done the Maine potato some years back by the AAA. And Senator Tobey, who was good enough to praise Wallace's work at the Board of Economic Warfare, wondered plaintively where the money was "coming from to buy twice as many refrigerators and twice as many automobiles as we had in the past." Even Wallace's supposed ambition to put milk on Hottentot doorsteps was left to friendly elucidation by his champion, Senator Pepper. Wallace is a hard man to hate face to face, and the hearing must have disappointed the Jones supporters.

Wallace is far from being as inept a politician as he purports to be. By presenting his post-war program as an outgrowth of the President's "economic bill of rights" and a loyal attempt to fulfil Roosevelt's pledge of 60,000,000 jobs after the war, Wallace put both the White House and his Democratic Party opponents on the spot. The President must support it or seem insincere; the right-wing Democrats are maneuvered into the position of opposing the President when they oppose Wallace. Wallace, by his presentation, made the issue pro or anti F. D. R., pro or anti full employment. The program itself, for all the yowling of the rightist press, is

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no more visionary than the similar stabilization achieved by Wallace in the sphere of agriculture before the war against a similarly hysterical opposition. Like the new Beveridge proposals in England, it offers the only possible hope of combining full employment with private enterprise, and in retrospect will appear genuinely conservative rather than radical.

Should Wallace lose, he will emerge with enhanced stature, a popular hero. His opponents will some day find it a costly victory. Should the White House fail to support him in the current fight, after the ignominious letter the President sent Jones, Wallace will replace Roosevelt as the leader of progressivism in America. His forthrightness has put him ahead of the field for 1948. In that longer perspective he can afford to be philosophical now. He cannot hope to be confirmed as both Secretary of Commerce and Federal Loan Administrator, but a compromise on the former job is still possible. The President may facilitate it by a strategic retreat in the form of an executive order anticipating the George bill and separating the two offices. Given a decently enlightened appointment to the Federal Loan Agency, we can look toward the post-war period with some confidence. To have Wallace in the Cabinet and Jones out would be worth almost any compromise.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

AFTER two weeks of incredible advances on the eastern front, it was still impossible to say whether the Red Army was achieving the primary objective of its greatest offensive—the destruction of Germany's fighting strength in the field. As this is written, on Sunday, the advance toward Berlin still continues, although there are indications that it may be slowing down. Already that advance has been great enough to demonstrate the Red Army's success in achieving what I termed last week its secondary objective—the capture of ground. If the killing of German soldiers has proceeded at the same rate, then the Red Army is very near victory. If it has not—as seems likely—then the European war will still be long and hard. For the achievement of secondary objectives, no matter in how stunning a fashion, is never decisive. Germany will be defeated decisively, not by the occupation of territory, but only by the destruction of its capacity for further armed resistance.

The measure of that destruction is impossible to assess at this distance. A Russian communiqué late last week totaled up 295,000 Germans killed and 86,000 captured since the start of the offensive. The figures are probably marked up; even so, the proportion between killed and captured is suggestive. The index of a real rout lies in the number of prisoners taken: the lines break, units are cut off from one another and internally disorganized, small bodies of troops and vehicles rush to the rear, and in the confusion the pursuing force rounds up tens of thousands of prisoners. This has undoubtedly happened on a considerable scale; but the present action is being conducted on a vast scale, and a vast rout would produce hundreds of thousands of prisoners. The proportion would be more like four prisoners to one killed than one prisoner to four killed as the figures indicate in this case.

What these figures suggest, therefore, is that the Germans are still fighting, taking orders, and dying very well. It looks as if the German high command ordered an all-out defense of the whole East Prussia–Vistula line, fought hard there until the Russians broke through in strength on several sectors, and then ordered fairly large-scale delaying actions while withdrawing the bulk of the German forces rapidly to the west. A major effort has been made to hold key communication centers against the general tide of the Soviet advance, and it is conceivable that the high command hoped to draw the Russians into a great trap in western Poland, snapping it shut with counter-offensives out of the East Prussian and Silesian bastions.

This hope—which could never have been a rosy one—was shattered by the familiar Soviet strategy of alternating offensives on all sectors of the front. The extension of offensive activity to include a pincers operation against East Prussia and a combined drive south and west into Silesia not only made this the greatest land offensive of history but forestalled any German attempt to take the central drive across Poland in flank.

Reading over that paragraph, I am struck by the inadequacy of the phrase "offensive activity." That little pincers against East Prussia involved the boldest strategy, the most aggressive tactical handling of troops, and some truly amazing feats of logistics in keeping a rapid advance supplied. Rokossovsky, who started from his position north of Warsaw to advance westward, swung north through the rugged Masurian Lakes defenses all the way to the Bay of Danzig; Cherniakhovsky ground westward through another part of the same defensive system toward Königsberg.

This same boldness has characterized the entire offensive, especially as regards the fortified communication centers which the Germans held hard in an effort to slow the Russian advance—Torun, Posen, Kalisz, Krakow, and so on. In each case the Russian advance appeared to slow before the cities; then the cities appeared as the spearpoints of German salients thrust into the advancing Russian lines; then the line closed behind the cities and the advance continued, with the garrisons left for mopping up by subsequent waves of Russian troops who could handle the matter in their own time.

So in two weeks the Red Army advanced up to 200 miles, overran more than 40,000 square miles of territory, reached and probably crossed the defensive barrier of the Oder River at several points, cut East Prussia off from the rest of Germany, removed Silesia from the list of Germany's industrial assets, and rendered Germany's most important eastern de-

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fenses incoherent. Pretty soon people will say that the Russians are getting too powerful for comfort.

A good deal of the Russian power derives from the flexibility of the Red Army's organizational structure, especially its tactical and supply doctrine. Everything that has wheels is employed to support an advance. Ingenuity and resourcefulness keynote all sorts of local operations, and commanders in the lower grades are given much leeway in making decisions on the spot and carrying them through with whatever means come to hand. A river crossing, for instance, doesn't wait on the arrival of engineer-corps troops with folding boats and bridging equipment, as in the American and British armies—the Russians utilize local resources, including bundles of faggots, barn doors, and farmers' punts. The comparative simplicity of equipment and of the Russian soldier's individual needs makes supply problems far less important in the calculations of staff officers. Russian observers were amazed when they saw the care we lavished on air-conditioning our tanks. Presumably they are equally amazed by the diet, clothing, and personal equipment of our troops. We pay a price for being able to boast that we have the best-equipped army in the world: a complicated supply system can become a burden, especially in pursuit.

Yet even though the Russian standard of living makes the Russian supply problem easier than that of the western Allies, a relative breakdown of the Russian lines of communication will probably cause a halt in the Russian advance somewhere short of Berlin. It will be something more than coincidence that the supply stoppage will occur just where German resistance stiffens. The German knows his enemy, and in this case as in others will probably elect to stand where he knows the leading Russian elements will be feeling the strain of shortened ammunition and gasoline rations, as they move beyond comfortable range of railheads and forward supply depots. Then will come a pause while the Russians regroup for the next blow—a blow which will almost certainly be compounded and perhaps made decisive by a general offensive from the west.

The Politics of World Security

BY GRAYSON KIRK

WHILE the coming months may bring victory to the United Nations on the battlefields of Europe, they are likely to bring a series of crises on the political front. The decisions which will be made during this time will go far toward determining whether the states which are now bound together to some extent by the menace of a common foe will be able to project their war-time collaboration into the post-hostilities period when that common bond no longer exists. Of all these decisions, none is more central—and more supremely important—than that which will determine the character and role of the future organization which is to be set up to maintain international peace and security. A major blunder in this field might well have disastrous and irretrievable consequences. Since the time is short, it is imperative to make a candid and searching examination of the foundations upon which future security organization must rest if it is to fulfil the role to be assigned to it.

At the moment—and despite the misgivings aroused in this country by the Polish boundary question and by British policy in Greece—the United States is experiencing an unprecedented wave of enthusiasm in favor of international security organization. Leaders of both parties and various influential private groups have gone on record as favoring the general outlines of organization which were hammered out at Dumbarton Oaks last summer, and only a few diehards have dared to continue to advocate what is generally termed an isolationist program. Indeed, it is probably not too much to say that American opinion has seized upon the principle of international organization as the great panacea for future peace.

No sane man can deny the general truth of the statement that effective organization of the world would do more than any alternative program to insure a fair prospect of peace for future generations. The difficulty is, however, that a war-weary world may fail to ponder adequately the obstacles which must be overcome, and the price which must be paid, before such an organization could confidently be expected to fulfil the hopes and aspirations that are certain to be fixed upon it. Without decrying for a moment the validity of the goal which has been set, or the general principle adopted for its achievement, we shall be on far safer ground if we do not allow our hopes to lead us to believe that the millennium will be at hand as soon as we have created a streamlined version of the League of Nations.

The dangers of over-optimism can be well illustrated by some of the official pronouncements of recent months. Thus, when Secretary Hull came back from Moscow a year ago he reported to Congress that "as the provisions of the four-nation declaration are carried into effect, there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests." The Connally resolution adopted by the Senate November 4, 1943, stated that the United States would "join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world."

These statements—and many others of the same kind—seem to be based on the view that it is possible to create an organization which, without interfering with the sovereignty of its members, will be able to guarantee world peace against any and all threats which may arise. No extensive demonstration is required to show that this is a counsel of perfection rather than a hard-headed appraisal by responsible statesmen. The international organization projected at Dum-

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barton Oaks cannot guarantee peace to the world; it can only create conditions which will favor progressive development toward that goal. Unless this lesson is learned well in advance—and remembered—we run the risk of expecting too much, and too soon, and the result of disappointment might be a reaction of cynicism which would sweep away all possibility of achieving the modest gains which such an organization can insure.

Absolute security could be achieved only by the creation of a supra-national organization which would subordinate the present sovereign states substantially to the level of the component states of the American union. The central organization would need to have a monopoly of all military power in excess of that which the members would need for preservation of their domestic peace. Only by this transference of preponderant power to the central organization could there be a sure guaranty that belligerent tendencies on the part of any member could be curbed with a minimum of delay and difficulty. And even then, the lessons of the American Civil War would need to be remembered.

No such drastic scrapping of the present state system is contemplated in the existing proposals, and it is favored as an active policy only by those organizations and groups which have allowed their wholly praiseworthy aspirations to blind them to any sense of present or prospective realities. In essence, therefore, the new international organization necessarily will resemble the League of Nations in that it will be a consultative agency for the organized collaboration of sovereign states.

The consequence of this conclusion must be examined in the light of the distribution of world power which will exist in the foreseeable future. Modern technology has produced the new concept of total war. It has maximized the power which greater states can bring to bear in support of their policies, and it has minimized the resistance which the smaller states can muster against them. For good or ill, a few power centers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—will possess a concentration of strength unprecedented in the history of the modern world. If they maintain a united front, it is difficult to see how any other power coalition could be developed anywhere which would dare to challenge them.

It follows, therefore, that the new organization for security must rest upon that basis of great-power collaboration. If this exists, then these powers, acting through the machinery and procedures of the organization, will be amply able to assure the peace of the world. If it does not exist, then the organization will fail as dismally and as surely as did the League of Nations. In other words, this concentration of power is such that, in the event of a quarrel among the great states themselves, the organization, as such, would be unable effectively to coerce the great-power miscreant by the threat or actual employment of force. The result of such an unhappy situation would not be police action by the organization for the disciplining of a member but a major war in which the first result would be the complete destruction and collapse of the organization.

This conclusion should not necessarily be a cause of alarm or dismay. It is merely an appraisal of things as they are, and it places the whole problem of international organization in a better perspective. It frees the solution from some of the impedimenta of excessive sentimentalism and sterile legalism. Also, it points to several courses of action which in the long run may be more fruitful of results than an attempt to force the new world into the narrow grooves of past organizational thinking.

The first—and in many respects the most basic—conclusion is that the new organization, whatever its precise procedural arrangements, will not provide an alternative to international politics. On the contrary, its effectiveness as a security instrument will rest squarely on the political ability of the great states to harmonize their respective policies sufficiently to prevent a deadlock. To this end the organization will powerfully contribute because it will provide an instrumentality for the regular and continuous collaboration of these governments. By providing a common meeting point and a green baize table around which the representatives of these states will regularly gather, it should be able to favor the development of mutual understanding and the dissipation of unfounded suspicions and fears.

The objection may be made that the discussion thus far has pointed in the direction of an organization which would be an agency whereby the greatest states would impose their domination upon their lesser colleagues. In answer it may be said that if this—and nothing more—is true, then the organization will soon break down because it will rest on a principle strongly opposed by important sections of public opinion in some if not all of these states. The corollary of the exercise of great power inside a world organization must be, in the long run, the acceptance of responsibility for states which are weaker, and the imposition of a self-restraint which no external agency can impose. But the point is that while the development of this sense of responsibility is essentially a political process, the mere existence of an organization, which will rest on the basis of a formalization of these obligations, will contribute toward its progressive growth. It is in this, quite as much as anything else, that the hope of a peaceful future lies.

If this political basis for the maintenance of future security is accepted, then the maintenance of friendly collaboration becomes an overriding compulsion on all the governments and peoples concerned. There must be an acceptance of the view that comparatively little has been accomplished merely by the elaboration of an ingenious mechanism which cannot be self-operating. Also, there must be a realization that if serious breaches between these powers occur as a result of conflicting policies over the war settlements, they will not easily be repaired by the organization.

As seen from this point of view, the much-mooted questions of voting arrangements in the proposed Security Council lose much of their controversial character. From a strictly legal point of view the ability of a great power to block action by the council with respect to a dispute to which it is a party may be objectionable, but if the organization rests on the basis of great-power solidarity for all effective action, then either the decision taken, and the resulting action, will be one in which all will concur, or no decision will be taken. A dispute to which a great power is a party will not be settled through formal voting arrangements.

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In this sense the unrestricted veto can perhaps be defended as offering a presumption of solidarity which would not be provided by its absence. In any event, it is not a matter of sufficient importance to warrant any of the great states in jeopardizing the creation of the organization merely in order to make its view prevail.

A better perspective is provided also with respect to the assumed conflict between national security arrangements and those associated with the international organization. It is undeniable that each major state will insist upon having its own house in order before it undertakes important responsibilities to the community hall. This conclusion is open to serious objection only if one assumes that the new organization will at once be able to assure peace to all. But since this assumption is scarcely realistic, then it is understandable that these powers, which cannot be protected automatically by the organization, will wish to have a reasonable sense of national security as a prerequisite to everything else. This will be as true for the United States in the Pacific as for Russia in its political arrangements with the neighboring states of Eastern Europe, or for Britain in safeguarding its imperial channels of communication. It is important, however, that so far as possible these arrangements be made on the basis of mutual understanding of the respective positions of the other powers concerned, and with full consideration for the interests of all other states affected. In other words, these developments must be undertaken and regarded as elements contributing to the future peace, and not as obstacles to it. If they are regarded by other states, large or small, as steps toward future aggrandizement rather than as measures for the protection of the status quo, the post-war structure will have been dealt a mortal blow.

Since the hope for a peaceful future lies far more in the spirit of peoples than in mechanical arrangements, it will be dangerous if excessive attention to the technical details of organization and procedure blinds men of good-will to the fact that international politics—even the much-maligned politics of power—will continue to be the dominating characteristic of a world of sovereign states. The important thing is to direct power into the channels of responsibility. In this lies the safety, not only of the peoples of the smaller states, but of all peoples everywhere.

The Polish Land Reform

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, January 25 (by Cable)

"IN THE name of the National Council of Poland and in conformity with the decisions of the Peasants' Committee of Radzyn County I tender you this title deed to the land." A stocky, middle-aged peasant in a sheepskin jacket stepped forward to the stage, which was decorated with the red-and-white flag of Poland, and received a paper from Vice-Minister of Agriculture Bienick. Scattered applause came from more than a thousand men and women in sheepskins and in heavy shawls huddled in the freezing hall with its bomb-smashed windows. Some faces were rapt, some grinning, some wistful, but most were as solemn as if in church.

This was land reform in action in rural liberated Poland. All estates of more than 125 acres—in Poland these are regular manors worked by many farm hands—were being confiscated and parceled out among the peasants.

The land situation in Eastern Europe has long been notorious. President Bierut of the provisional government says that before the war two-thirds of Poland's farm lands were owned by 16,000 landlords and the remaining one-third by 4,000,000 peasants. I won't insist on these figures, for Polish statistics are complicated, but everybody agreed that land reforms were needed. The question was how and when.

The National Committee of Liberation decided to carry out the land reform immediately. It placed the procedure under triple control—county agents appointed by the government, peasant committees elected from the villages, and workers' brigades volunteering from the cities.

I visited a typical estate in Podsamche during the land division. It contained over two thousand acres, nearly half of them arable land, the rest woods. The aged landowner had died during the war, leaving a young widow who was not living on the estate but in a city home. The estate was being divided among fifty-seven farm hands who had previously worked on it and the peasants of three villages.

A peasants' committee consisting of two peasants from each village and two farm hands of the estate worked for a week under a subchairman from the township checking two hundred applicants for the land. Stanislaw, a farm hand with five children, was given eight acres. Wiernici, with eight dependents, got twelve. Janowski, with only two, got eight acres because his son was a volunteer in the Polish army.

There were long debates over doubtful cases. One peasant declared he possessed only two acres, but his wife was rumored to have ten in another county. An old man admitted to but one acre, but he had had twenty-five which he had turned over to his four sons, who were farming it together.

The chief disputes were between the peasants and the farm hands. The farm hands said, "Our fathers and grandfathers worked this estate and we expect twelve full acres before anyone else." The peasants argued that that wouldn't leave anything for the needy among them. An endless debate threatened, but the chairman of the workers' brigade—a restless mechanic—arranged a compromise.

This complicated checking of claims is only the first step. Next come complaints, and then a review by the provincial land departments. Cooperatives are formed to handle the indivisible estate property, such as tractors, flour mills, barns. Finally a big formal meeting is held and the title deeds are conveyed amid flags, bands, the national anthem, and Polish soldiers saluting.

By such processes 800,000 acres formerly belonging to

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1,000 owners were transferred to 100,000 families before the New Year. Why all this effort in the midst of war? ask some critics. I can only indicate a few of the reasons here.

Now is the least painful time for the transfer, since the Germans have already liquidated many ownerships. Thus in Radzyn County, with fifty-four estates under twenty-eight owners, eight of the largest were seized by the Germans, who have now fled. Of the twenty remaining Polish owners, eight were either killed or are in Nazi concentration camps, and six fled with the Germans. Thus only six owners were actually resident on the fifty-four estates when the land reform was declared. Confiscation is therefore relatively easy now; it will be harder when the owners or their heirs return. The former owners' absence also created an economic need to instal others who would work and sow the land.

These practical considerations are reinforced by political and military reasons. The landed estates are the natural centers of reactionary politics; they even became the hangouts for the terrorist gangs which assassinated officials of the Lublin government and Red Army officers. The new landowners energetically support the provisional government and join the Polish army, in which they see a guaranty of their land titles.

The land reform not only spurs volunteering for the Polish army but makes millions of peasants statistically conscious of why they want East Prussian and Pomeranian lands —to give every Polish peasant at least twelve acres. With all its complexities, therefore, the land reform does not detract from the war effort but creates a new stimulus for the march on Berlin.

Tomorrow the Movies

IV. IS HOLLYWOOD GROWING UP?

BY DOROTHY B. JONES

IN EVALUATING Hollywood's role in the war, one is faced with a curious paradox. On the one hand, a careful examination of the record shows that the motion-picture industry has contributed relatively little to the war effort through its feature films. On the other, there are many evidences of its rapidly increasing maturity during the war years. New attitudes toward the film have been spreading through all Hollywood—various talent groups have stepped forward to accept their social and political responsibilities toward the motion-picture colony and the country at large. Furthermore, the industry as a whole, like many other American industries, has achieved new unity as a result of the war. To explain this apparent paradox it is necessary to review some of the changes which have been taking place in the movie capital since America's entry into the war.

NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS

Traditionally, Hollywood has regarded the feature film as a fantasy medium with only one responsibility—to provide enjoyment or entertainment for its audiences. Consequently the average Hollywood film-maker has felt no special obligation toward his material. In order to make his story timely and thereby improve the box-office appeal of his picture, he has often dealt with important topics of the day, but out of confusion or ignorance he has adapted, twisted, or misinterpreted social and political facts. If greater integrity of presentation was urged upon him, the average producer usually insisted that after all "it's only a movie," only make-believe.

With the war, however, Hollywood producers have gradually become aware that a motion picture—even a purely "escapist" picture—is a social document which, regardless of the producer's intention, is certain to influence those who see it. For example, it was brought home to the industry that the time-worn portrayal of minority groups was no longer acceptable. The criticism of film reviewers and reports on the reactions of foreign audiences made it evident that the Negro could no longer be presented as a comic menial, the stupid, shiftless character common on the screen for many years; that during a war being fought, among other things, to stamp out fascist theories of racial superiority such portrayals supported the propaganda of our enemies. As a result the old Negro stereotype has appeared less frequently on the screen, and a new and refreshing picture of the Negro has replaced it. Dore Schary, in planning the film "Bataan" (MGM), deliberately waited until the story was completed before casting a Negro in one of the main roles so that the part would not be specially written for a Negro. The Sudanese Negro in "Sahara" (Columbia) is another example of the changed characterization of the Negro on the screen. Various films have given prominent roles to Negro players, roles which showed the Negro as an accepted member of society instead of as a type set apart by prejudice. The more frequent appearance of Negro faces in group or crowd scenes reflects the new attitude.

The Chinese laundryman or cook with his pidgin English, who was always good for a laugh in days gone by, appears less often. There has even been some effort to atone for the indignities inflicted in the past by portraying the positive virtues of the Chinese American. One example of this is the characterization of the young Chinese interne in the Dr. Kildare pictures. Similarly the stereotypes of the "dumb wop," the bearded Russian, the hysterical Frenchman, have tended to be replaced by human beings not unlike ourselves, toward whom audiences everywhere can feel sympathy or dislike, depending upon the role of such characters in the story rather than their nationality.

ADAPTING FILMS TO WORLD AUDIENCES

The war has also brought to Hollywood a broadened concept of film audiences. Although before the war the industry derived from 30 to 40 per cent of its gross take from the

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foreign market, Hollywood movie-makers had long been accustomed to keeping their eye chiefly on the domestic box-office. It is true that most studios had set up foreign departments whose main function was to warn producers against the portrayal of incidents or customs which might prove offensive in some countries. Certain rules were established—no villain should be identified as a friendly national, Latin American women should not be shown as having loose morals, and so on—and violations of them were either eliminated from the script or cut from the export prints. But little thought was given to orienting entire films for the world market.

The idea that each script must be considered from the standpoint of world as well as domestic audiences has been firmly established in Hollywood by the daily conferences of producers and writers with the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information. Hollywood filmmakers have been informed about the unfortunate use made of gangster films by our enemies. Pre-war gangster films had been reedited by the Nazis and shown in conquered countries as confirmation of their claims that this country was ruled by gangsters and thugs. And Hollywood gangster films had been cited by the Nazi short-wave radio as testimony that gangster-ruled America could not be relied upon by its allies or the peoples it promised to liberate. Having learned that Hollywood films are accepted overseas as documentary portrayals of the American scene, Hollywood producers now have a new understanding of the international importance of their product.

HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOBILIZE FOR WAR

Hollywood writers were among the first to demand the more vital use of the film during the war. One week after Pearl Harbor they met to dedicate their talents to furnishing morale-building material. An organization called the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization was formed, representing eight different writers' groups. This organization has provided writing talent for government and other agencies engaged in war work. It has also had considerable influence, both direct and indirect, upon the work of script writers. The mobilization itself has furnished scripts for almost 150 film shorts, trailers, and documentaries for government agencies, the armed forces, and war charities. It has produced more than 800 radio scripts and spot announcements, almost as many sketches for camp and factory shows, hundreds of speeches, posters, and slogans, and innumerable brochures, feature articles, and songs.

In October, 1943, the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, acting jointly with the University of California at Los Angeles, sponsored a Writers' Congress which was attended by 1,300 people. At general meetings and seminars writers, directors, and producers, together with university students and teachers, participated in discussions of how the motion picture and radio could best aid in the winning of the war and the peace. The congress gave great impetus to the growing realization that the Hollywood film could not remain isolated from social problems of the day but must assume its place in world thinking.

As a follow-up to the Writers' Congress, the Mobilization initiated a series of seminars in which writers discussed the problems involved in a more effective war-time use of the Hollywood film. The presentation of the returning service man and the portrayal of minority groups were among the topics considered. By and large, these seminars were well attended. They became not only a source of information and a stimulus to constructive thinking but also a new and vital type of story conference at which writers could clarify their own thinking about their current work.

AN ANTI-FASCIST HOLLYWOOD

There are other signs of Hollywood's growing maturity. Early in 1944 the Hollywood Motion Picture Alliance, a labor-baiting organization of the America First variety, made its appearance. This organization, which claimed to speak for the entire film industry, sought to brand as "red" and "un-American" all progressive thinkers in the motion-picture colony and to thwart the progressive movement. Other Hollywood groups, led by the Writers' Mobilization, moved into action against it. Their opposition culminated in a meeting held on June 28, 1944, which was attended by about a thousand delegates representing seventeen guilds and unions and which called for unified action to protect the industry and its workers against anti-democratic and anti-labor acts. The meeting was a public rebuff to the Motion Picture Alliance and served notice that Hollywood would not tolerate a fascist-type organization which pretended to represent the industry and its workers. Subsequent to the meeting, the Screen Actors' Guild and the Federation of Musicians joined the protest group, which formed a Council of Hollywood Guilds and Unions representing 22,000 of the 30,000 workers in the motion-picture industry. An account of the meeting was published in a pamphlet entitled "The Truth About Hollywood," thousands of copies of which were distributed to guilds and unions throughout the country to show how one industry fought the attempt of a fascist group to organize in its midst and take over its representation. The incident marked a new high in social thought and action in the motion-picture colony.

No discussion of Hollywood's changing role in public affairs would be complete without some mention of the contribution of its talent groups in the election campaign. Writers, actors, musicians, cartoonists, and other artists gave generously of their time in dramatizing the issues. Humphrey Bogart, Orson Welles, Katherine Hepburn, Edward G. Robinson, the Warners, Walter Wanger, to name but a few of the top figures, as well as innumerable lesser persons, worked tirelessly for the reelection of President Roosevelt. Their progressive attitude is bound to be reflected in the future product of the industry.

NEW TECHNIQUES FROM THE BATTLE FRONTS

Probably one of the most important influences upon the future film will be that exerted by members of the industry who have actively participated in the war. Many Hollywood camera men, actors, writers, directors, and technicians have been under fire, recording battle action with camera and sound equipment. Others have worked behind the lines assembling and editing newsreel footage. Still others have made orientation or training films or prepared documentaries about America to follow our armed forces into the liberated areas. In doing these jobs Hollywood talent and

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technical groups have learned all kinds of new techniques. In fact, it is safe to say that their entire way of thinking about the film has been modified.

Most of these men will return to their civilian jobs when the war is over. Among their number are some outstanding Hollywood names—Frank Capra, John Ford, George Oppenheimer, Robert Riskin, Irving Reis, and many others. Their influence upon Hollywood's future product can scarcely be measured at this time. Certainly men who for the past several years have been making the film a dynamic weapon of war will not be content to produce exclusively escapist films which recognize no social or political responsibility.

THE POST-WAR OUTLOOK

The traditional ideas about film-making which have so long governed the motion-picture industry are slowly yielding before the progressive forces which have been gathering strength in the movie capital as elsewhere in the world. The gradual revision of the stereotyped characterization of minority groups, the new effort toward a more realistic portrayal of American life for foreign audiences are but two of many indications that a revolution is taking place in Hollywood. The fact that such films as "Sahara" (Col.), "Guadalcanal Diary" (20th), "Corvette K-225" (Univ.), "This Land Is Mine" (RKO), "Watch on the Rhine" (WB), "North Star" (Goldwyn), "Wilson" (20th), and similar pictures have come out of Hollywood and have been successful at the box-office offers further evidence that a new day is coming. The bulk of the Hollywood product will undoubtedly continue to be musicals, comedies, murder mysteries, and westerns. But the film which attempts a serious treatment of social and economic problems has become an accepted part of the product. Equally important, the average Hollywood musical or comedy, in so far as it touches upon current problems, will tend increasingly to reflect Hollywood's growing sense of responsibility to foreign as well as American audiences.

The changes which have come about in Hollywood as a result of the war are in no sense temporary ones which will vanish on V-Day. Organizations like the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the Council of Hollywood Guilds and Unions have already begun to plan their peace-time programs. The Writers' Mobilization, for instance, will function as a cultural center for motion-picture writers interested in the social and political implications of the film and will further the exchange of ideas with the script writers of other nations.

Nor will Hollywood's future influence be exerted, as in the past, solely through its output. The people who work in Hollywood have, through their war experience, gained immeasurably in social awareness and have learned how to act together in the interests of the American people and of people everywhere. With the best artistic talent of the country at its disposal, Hollywood may in time assume the progressive leadership of the nation.

[This is the last of a series of four articles.]

G. O. P. Sales Conference

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

THE first post-election challenge to Governor Dewey's continued leadership of the Republican Party has ended with the 1944 Presidential nominee firmly in control of the G. O. P. political machinery. That challenge came at the Indianapolis meeting of the Republican National Committee on January 22. Dewey met it with customary dispatch. But this time, as befits a defeated candidate desirous of becoming again the party's standard bearer, he used conciliation—a technique at which the organization that drove the Chicago steam-roller last June proved unexpectedly adept.

An incipient movement developed among various anti-Dewey groups to remove Herbert Brownell, Jr., from his post as chairman of the National Committee. It was advisable to squash the movement quickly and, if possible, to keep it off the floor. The opposition was divided and leaderless, and the Dewey strategists knew they could vote down any adverse motion from the floor. But they decided to compromise.

The action taken was successful. But it caused conjecture. And that conjecture may bode ill for Dewey's aspirations. For, though but weakly challenged, the Governor of New York made concessions. And when the members of the committee returned to their homes in the forty-eight states, they must have faced the question whether leadership based on such compromise can long satisfy elements in the party now demanding resolution and boldness.

Dewey, having indicated that he is willing to compromise, may be asked to do so again and again. The danger, both to himself and to the party, is that he may yield. At Indianapolis he compromised twice. One opposition group demanded that Brownell give full time to the duties of party chairman. It made this an issue. Brownell pledged that he would give all the time necessary. In effect, the Dewey forces took orders from one of the minority groups in the committee. Other elements demanded that Brownell promise not to use the office to advance the 1948 aspirations of any candidate, specifically Dewey. Some chairmen might have regarded such a demand as an affront to their honor, for it is ordinarily taken for granted that the chairman will remain neutral. No one expects Brownell to do so. But he meekly pledged that he would.

Those two concessions were the price Brownell—Dewey's man through and through—had to pay to prevent a challenge from the floor. Some commended his action—as best for the party and all that. Others saw in it Dewey's determination to hang on, no matter what the price. None, except party hacks, thought of it as virile, aggressive leadership. A few, thinking of Dumbarton Oaks, wondered where the willingness to compromise might lead.

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Equally disturbing was the apathy displayed by some committeemen, the willingness to drift with the tide of events. Why worry? this group asked. If Dewey wins the New York governorship again, they reasoned, he'll probably be the 1948 Presidential nominee. If he loses that contest, he is automatically through.

Because compromise and apathy were in the ascendancy at the Indianapolis meeting, Dewey remains the master of the Republican Party machinery. What he will do with that mastery is problematical. Brownell's program for revitalizing the G. O. P. doesn't seem to go beyond the creation of a more effective political organization. There is no indication of what this more effective political organization, if it is achieved, will stand for, other than a greater effort to get votes. That will be revealed, the chairman states, by party spokesmen in the Senate and House and by various Republican governors. He was a bit vague in meeting press conference questions as to which set of Republican legislators and Republican governors would be accepted as spokesmen. Whether this more effective political organization will seek to implement the views of an Austin or a Hoffman, a Ball or a Luce, a Vandenberg or a Brooks remains to be seen.

Brownell sought to sow the idea, unofficially, that the party is now following the Vandenberg line on foreign policy. Such may be his intentions, and those of Governor Dewey. The question raised by the Indianapolis meeting, however, is what will become of the Vandenberg line if, in order to retain party control, Dewey, when again challenged, again compromises.

That may be the price one pays, after defeat, for continued leadership of a political party. Willkie didn't pay it. But Willkie lost control of the party machinery, and gave up the struggle, after Wisconsin, for renomination. During his campaign for renomination, he was roundly blasted by many of the national committeemen who at the Indianapolis meeting adopted a resolution describing him as a "courageous statesman, forward-looking protector of minorities, and loyal to his ideals." His courageous statesmanship and his loyalty to his ideals made him *persona non grata* to those controlling the party machinery. Willkie's mistake will not, apparently, be repeated by young Mr. Dewey, a more practical politician.

One shouldn't, of course, expect too much from the national committee of any political party. National committees are the natural habitat of the practical politicians—the ward-heelers grown to national stature, the wire-pullers, the schemers, the compromisers. Political victory, patronage, and the emoluments of office are their concern. Perhaps it is just as well that Chairman Brownell decided to leave policy making to legislative spokesmen, even if it hasn't been determined which set will be followed. National committeemen occupy themselves with organization, the raising of campaign funds, and the conduct of campaigns. Most of them don't care who the candidate is if he's popular, or what he stands for if it's popular. Politics, to most of them, is a popularity contest, with the winner taking all.

It was easy for them to agree to Chairman Brownell's proposal to set a full-time policeman to watch the New Deal, as he phrased it in his eight-point victory program—while remaining ready to implement the policy of whichever group of legislative spokesmen is most popular in 1948.

In the Wind

WILL DURANT addressed the Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles on January 12. This is from the account in the Los Angeles *Daily News:* "Dr. Durant reminded the clubites of the Neville Chamberlain–Hitler conferences of a few years ago. He said he believed that Hitler had asked for a promise that Britain would not intefere if Germany warred on Russia. He added that he believed Chamberlain gave that promise. 'Chamberlain probably thought such a war with Russia would last two years,' said Dr. Durant. 'He may have envisioned in that period the thorough arming of Britain, the United States, and France.' . . . Insufficiently informed public opinion, Dr. Durant suggested, prevented Chamberlain from carrying out his plan, and disaster followed."

NOEL F. BUSCH, senior editor of *Life*, makes this observation in his book, "My Unconsidered Judgment": "Eden has been criticized for not resigning long before he did, over the Hoare-Laval pact which enabled Italy to gobble Abyssinia. Most of this criticism comes from leftists, who, in addition to knowing nothing about anything else, have never heard a gun go off." "Unconsidered, O.K.," says Jay Allen, "but where does the judgment come in?"

TWAIN MICHELSON, a municipal judge of San Francisco, in pronouncing sentence on the manager of a burlesque theater and three of his actors for presenting an indecent performance, held up Sally Rand as an ideal for them to shoot at. "I remember Sally Rand," he said, "who was as naked with her balloon or fan as any performer I ever saw, and in my opinion she did a very beautiful dance. Furthermore, Miss Rand is a college graduate and a very highly cultured woman."

AN ADVERTISEMENT for *Cosmopolitan* currently appearing in the business press is illustrated with a picture of a young girl with a bemused expression. "Edna Ferber has inspired her mind," it says, "and now, Campbell, you whip up her appetite for soup. You know her type. She's as young and eager and alert as she looks. She's impulsive. She's *emotional*. Right now, she's under the magic influence of a story by Edna Ferber, one of the many famous authors who write regularly for *Cosmopolitan*. Great writing makes great reading! And great reading stirs the impulses. Great reading warms the heart. It increases a girl's appetite for the pleasant life. It makes her the good friend of all around her. So now, Campbell Soup, now that she's reading *Cosmopolitan's* great fiction, the stage is set for your famous advertisements! This is the moment to put ideas in her head! . . . Emotion makes wars. Emotion makes marriages. Emotion makes sales." We are sure Miss Ferber is an innocent victim of this exploitation. She has our sympathy.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The new German troops in Denmark are so young that the Danes suspect they are part of a Nazi campaign to arouse pity. They call them "pity traps."

[*Readers are invited to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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No Vatican Plan for Italy?

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

CARRYING on a controversy from the United States with a paper published in Vatican City is rather difficult, for mail is slow and one cannot rely blindly upon summary information from American correspondents about what a paper says in Rome. Therefore I must discuss now, in January, 1945, something which broke in Rome in November, 1944. But where Vatican policies are concerned one must be as patient as the Vatican. Patience usually pays.

On May 19, 1943, the New York *Times* carried a report from Berne by Daniel T. Brigham, whose relations with the Vatican legation in that city were exceedingly cordial. Mr. Brigham said he had learned from a "well-informed Vatican source" that a "plan" had been "elaborated in a special message from Pope Pius to Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York, at present in the Middle East." The plan "was said to have been taken to Istanbul, Turkey, by air yesterday, May 17, by Monsignor Emmanuele Clarizio, a Vatican representative, who is understood to be awaiting an answer." The plan aimed to make possible Italian "voluntary collaboration in the ousting of the Fascist regime" and "an armistice at once." It provided that "in the cadres of the present Italian regional prefects, who for the purpose of civil administration would not be considered to have been active party supporters and would in their turn be subject to the orders of an Allied Commission sitting in Rome, a ten-year plan of political metamorphosis would be immediately introduced. During this period civil administration would be handed back to the people by certain well-defined stages. The Fascist Party as such would be immediately disbanded." No provision was made in this first plan, Mr. Brigham continued, "for the arrest or handing over to the Allies of any Fascist leaders."

In *The Nation* of August 7, 1943, I pointed out that the prefects were the backbone of the Fascist regime, and that the Amgot plan announced in July and the Vatican plan announced in May were as alike as "two rotten eggs." Amgot had borrowed even the distinction between "active" and "inactive" Fascists from the Vatican plan, and then had gone one step farther and admitted into the American-British fold Fascists who had been "active" up to the moment of defeat. In August, 1943, Archbishop Spellman was in New York. He kept silent.

One year later, after the Allies had occupied Rome, a journalistic campaign was launched from that city to persuade the American public that a five-year Anglo-Saxon occupation was indispensable in Italy to forestall communism. In *The Nation* of August 19, 1944, I noted that the 1943 Vatican plan, taking a longer view, had asked for a ten-year occupation. Through a typographical error, the date "May 19, 1943"—the date of the New York *Times* dispatch from Berne—appeared in *The Nation* as "May 11, 1944."

When my article arrived in Italy, the news of the Vatican's ten-year occupation plan caused such a stir that the *Osservatore Romano* of September 19, 1944, found it necessary to say that "on May 11, 1944," no plan for the reconstruction of Italy had been formulated by the Vatican. "We are authorized to state," it said, "that this fantastic information lacks any basis whatsoever."

I wrote at once to the *Osservatore Romano* asking whether its statement meant that no Vatican plan existed "on May 11, 1944," or that the plan described in the New York *Times* on May 19, 1943, had never existed. "If the *Osservatore Romano* is kind enough to state that the Vatican plan 'never existed,'" I wrote, "it is to be hoped that Archbishop Spellman will tell us why the information given by the New York *Times* was contradicted neither in May nor in August, 1943. The fact, if true, was as important in 1943 as in 1944. If it has deserved an official contradiction by the Vatican under the date 'May 11, 1944,' it deserved to be contradicted by the New York Archbishopric in both May and August, 1943."

The answer of the *Osservatore Romano,* published early in November, was that "a plan of the Holy See for the reconstruction of Italy did not exist either in 1943 or in 1944, or ever." It should be noted that the Vatican paper's pronouncement lacked official sanction, that it did not use the solemn formula "we are authorized to state." Further, the Vatican paper was careful not to explain why Archbishop Spellman played 'possum in August, 1943. And finally, by asserting that no Vatican plan had existed in 1943 or in 1944 or "ever," the Vatican paper discredited its whole statement.

Was there really no Vatican plan for Italy? Does the Vatican make plans for all the countries of the world except Italy?

As I said above, a few weeks after Mr. Brigham had reported the Vatican plan for Italy, Amgot announced a plan that was a replica of it. Then, as Amgot planned, the Fascist regime was ousted by "the Italians," that is, by a palace conspiracy in which men like Federzoni, who had always enjoyed the favor of the Vatican, had a hand; the unconditional surrender took place; an Allied Commission was set up and is now sitting in Rome, protecting Fascist prefects and other high civil and military officers from any attempt to purge them. And that Allied Commission is handing back the civil administration step by step to "the people," that is, to the prefects chosen by the Royal Government. In May, 1943, when he reported the Vatican plan for Italy, was the Berne correspondent of the New York *Times* a prophet or was he a newspaperman who gathered his material from informed sources?

On May 12, 1943, the French journalist Pertinax, who is not a man to fabricate news and who was on good terms

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with the Vatican delegation in Washington, stated that "the Vatican is deeply concerned with the social unheavals that, in the peninsula, are likely to be the outcome of military defeat beyond the sea and of unlimited destruction by air raids at home." On May 18 the New York *Times* broke the news from Berne, although in the form of an "unconfirmed report," that "the Vatican had informed the British and American governments that an Italian collapse now would have disastrous results unless Italy was neutralized at once or immediately occupied by Allied armies." The *Times* used these headlines: "Mussolini Appeal to Pope Reported"; "Italian Leaders Said to Have Asked Pontiff to Use Good Offices with the Allies"; "Vatican Said to Have Warned London and Washington of Danger in Collapse." The cordial relations that exist between the New York *Times* and the New York Archbishopric are well known. On June 13, 1943, the Pope personally addressed a gathering of Italian workers and advised them to shrink from revolution. Was there no plan in the mind of Pius XII when he made that address?

On March 30, 1943, Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, warned the Italians that they should "remember that the pledge of national unity is the monarchy of the House of Savoy." And behold, in May, 1944, "special investigators" of the American army intercepted messengers near the lines in southern Italy and opened a Vatican mail pouch. In it they found documentary evidence that the Vatican was engaged in aggressive if highly secret machinations for the House of Savoy. The leaders of the party which calls itself "Christian Democratic" are working hand in glove with the monarchist party, and some of them were Vatican employees up to yesterday. Was there never a Vatican plan for Italy?

Last July a controversy broke out between monarchists and republicans over whether a Constituent Assembly should be summoned at the end of the war to decide upon the form of government for Italy. The *Osservatore Romano* took up the cudgels for the monarchists and called for a plebiscite instead of a Constituent Assembly. In Silone's novel "Bread and Wine" the horse that always nods while walking is christened "Plebiscito" by the peasants. In November the Lieutenant General of the Realm came out for the plebiscite. No Vatican plan for Italy?

In August Churchill had four or five meetings with Pius XII in Rome. Did Pius XII ask Churchill to announce some plan for Italy since he, Pius XII, had never had one?

As long as Mussolini was in power, the Vatican tried to rescue him from ruin. Since his collapse, the Vatican has been trying to rescue the Royal House, the conservative social classes, and the Concordat of February, 1929. This is the Vatican plan for Italy. To be sure, the Vatican does not want to take responsibility for the execution of its plan. The so-called Christian Democratic Party takes that responsibility. But this game deceives no one in Italy.

As long as American relief to Italy is handled through Vatican agencies, the Italians will silently bow to necessity. But Vatican City does not produce wheat, clothes, shoes, or raw materials. When the five-year or ten-year occupation has come to an end and people can no longer be controlled by "food as a weapon" and similar tricks, the Vatican will learn that its sowing of a monarchical wind can reap only an anti-clerical whirlwind.

Dangerous Experts

BY PACIFICUS

PERHAPS the most dangerous development in the field of Far Eastern post-war policy planning is the growing influence of an Anglo-American team of shortsighted foreign-service conservatives. If their ideas prevail, the process of purging Japan of its militarist and imperialist elements and helping a new, democratic Japan to emerge will be set back for many years. The results may even go beyond those of the disastrous British policy in Greece and produce not only civil war in Japan but conflict among the United Nations.

The two officials referred to are Eugene Dooman and Sir Paul Butler. Mr. Dooman was counselor of the American embassy in Tokyo at the time of Pearl Harbor and was primarily responsible for the execrable mistake in judgment which minimized the threat to the United States represented by Tojo's appointment in October, 1941. When Joseph Clark Grew was director of the State Department's Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Mr. Dooman had the title of Special Assistant, although many in the department remarked that the relationship between the two paralleled that of Edgar Bergen to Charlie McCarthy. Now that Mr. Grew has been promoted, Mr. Dooman seems slated to emerge as the Robert Murphy of American policy toward Japan. According to Drew Pearson, he has been placed in charge of all State Department relations with the army and navy civil-affairs sections. He has been touring civil-affairs schools in the United States indoctrinating the future occupation officers with his own inaccurate interpretation of what makes Japan tick. If American public opinion permits his further elevation to the position of political adviser to the occupation authorities, the results may well be disastrous.

Mr. Dooman not only believes in retaining the emperor system, minus some of the more militaristic forms of emperor-worship, but also thinks that the only elements we can rely on in Japan are the business leaders, court-circle aristocrats, and bureaucrats. In a word, he supports the retention of the present ruling groups with the exception of the military extremists. Mr. Dooman will not concede that other groups have any capacity for leadership or that it might be possible to involve Communists or other labor and peasant leaders in the post-war administration of Japan. In short, having lived almost half of his life among upper-class Japanese, Mr. Dooman shares many of their reactions.

Sir Paul Butler is a British counterpart of Mr. Dooman. He too served extensively in the foreign service in Japan. He is now adviser to the Foreign Office on Far Eastern matters. When he came to this country to attend the international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held last month at Hot Springs, Virginia, he apparently brought with him a manuscript entitled "Japan in Defeat," a study prepared under his direction at Chatham House, the quasi-official foreign-affairs organization in London. Those who have seen his manuscript or who heard him speak at the Hot Springs conference report that the policy he enunciates for Japan makes Churchill's Greek policy seem enlightened. He apparently goes so far as to support the retention of "moderate" militarists in the post-war Japanese government.

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It was generally assumed at the conference that Sir Paul was presenting either an official British view or an official British trial balloon. It is important to note, however, that his position was opposed by the great majority of those present, including virtually the entire American delegation, although Sir Paul was able to gloat over the support he received from a young subordinate of Mr. Dooman's.

If the policies of these minor Neville Chamberlains are put into effect, American and British influence will be found in support of the discredited imperialist ruling groups of Japan. Russia, however, if it participates in the war against Japan, is likely to support Susumu Okano and his Japanese People's Emancipation League, now growing stronger at Yenan. It is obvious that the situation contains the seeds of civil war and international conflict.

What is required is a United Nations agreement to support a wide coalition of Communists, industrialists whose interests lie in peaceful trade, and all those in between who can agree on the necessity for purging Japan of its military-fascist ideology, economy, and government. To achieve and execute such an agreement in good faith, it will be necessary to render ineffective all officials whose narrow conservatism would lead them to risk civil war and international conflict rather than support a regime dedicated to political and economic progress which might develop a quasi-socialist character.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AS THIS is written, the battle for Upper Silesia is being fought. If the Reich loses it, there can be no doubt about the consequences: in a few weeks at the most all further resistance will inevitably collapse. For this second most important industrial region in Germany has become, with the progressive destruction of the Ruhr, the most important. Probably not an item of its production can be spared. Loss of its coal would certainly be fatal. According to recent reports, coal shipments from Upper Silesia in 1943 rose to the unprecedented height of 90,000,000 tons, that is, 36 per cent of the total amount produced in Germany. In the following year, 1944, as the damage to the Ruhr increased, the percentage of Silesia's contribution must have mounted. Without this source of energy the Reich could not possibly fight on for any length of time.

Even if the front is stabilized once more, before Silesia is overrun, the Reich, in the opinion of this writer, will get but a brief reprieve. However the military situation develops, the coal scarcity is bound to become a catastrophe. The mere fact that Silesia has become a war area reduces coal shipments to a fraction of what they were. And things had reached a point where they could not be allowed to grow worse.

Of the hundreds of witnesses to these conditions only a few need be cited. (The point is not the suffering of the Germans but their ability to continue the war.) The subprefect of Lauenburg announced on December 31:

> All coal consumers, including public offices, industrial firms, and the like, must exercise the utmost economy in heating, for they will have to get along with considerably smaller quantities than had been anticipated. Households must heat only one room and turn off all other radiators.

The magazine *Das Reich* declared on January 7 that "unforeseen factors" had suddenly made the precarious coal situation even more precarious, and not only for private consumers but for industry. The causes given were the "absolutely necessary conscription of miners for the armed forces or for work on fortifications, the unexpected use of rolling stock for the transportation of troops, ammunition, and food, and the damage done to the rail network and occasionally also to the railroad shops by the incessant air raids." The school vacation, which would normally end on January 3, was extended to January 15 on account of the lack of coal, and then to January 31, for the same reason. On January 11 the Stockholm *Aftonbladet* reported that "in the past few weeks millions of city households have been unable to obtain any coal at all. . . . Many cafes and restaurants have stopped heating entirely; in Berlin only the Hotel Adlon is adequately warm."

Similar limitations are of course placed on the use of gas. For example, in Dresden, the capital of Saxony, the authorities announced that "special circumstances" compelled them "once more to reduce gas pressure. Gas will therefore burn poorly or not at all. In districts served by the East Saxon Gas Company . . . the use of gas will have to stop completely." Such was the situation when Upper Silesia was still unthreatened and its production intact.

It is true that coal is a special case; for other commodities the curve of supply does not descend so steeply. It is going down, however, at a rate which is accelerating from week to week. "A serious food crisis is developing in Germany because of the breakdown of transportation and distribution," declared the *Aftonbladet* on January 10. Food trains are being wrecked every day between stations and at stations. Some stand on sidings for weeks. Enormous quantities of food spoil on these trains and on others which wait in vain to be unloaded. Especially during the recent severe cold spell vast quantities of potatoes were lost by freezing.

New restrictions, general or local, are continually being imposed. Soldiers on furlough used to receive a number of extra ration points as a "gift from the Führer to soldiers on leave." At the beginning of January it was announced that these special food cards would no longer be given out and that retailers should not honor them if presented.

The German News Bureau (D. N. B.) broadcast on January 17 that "milk deliveries to the distributors have declined still farther in most parts of the Reich" and that the situation was "made worse by transport difficulties." It was therefore "not always possible" to give consumers their full ration, reduced as that ration was. In the Rhineland the full ration of flour and bread was for some weeks unobtainable, but the public was assured that the unused points would be honored later. They were canceled, however, in the middle of January. "Winter fruits," such as apples and pears, have disappeared almost completely. According to the Berlin *Zwölf Uhr Blatt* of January 12, they will be given out only to children, expectant or nursing mothers, and sick people. The maximum monthly allotment will be two kilos (four and a half pounds) to pregnant or ill adults and one kilo to children—about one mouthful a day.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE LITTLE MONEY

BY JACQUES BARZUN

FROM the deplorable financial status of the academic man in this land of plenty, some have argued that teachers should organize themselves into unions and demand the standard of living they think they are entitled to. This might be a practicable way if it could ever be determined what leverage teachers can employ and who their employers are. I feel a strong corporate sense binding me to my colleagues, and once upon a time I joined a so-called union to see what it could do. It could obviously help teachers in public schools and other tax-supported institutions by lobbying at the legislature in the approved way. But the members of an endowed university are in a peculiar position: they do not work for themselves, nor directly for their clients—the students; nor for the administrative heads, who are mere agents, nor for the trustees, who do not run a profit-making concern. The university teacher clearly works for the public. But he cannot strike, expostulate, bargain, or picket. The fact that colleges are of so many different kinds, and run on so many different financial plans, obscures the common truths in confusion. Nevertheless, the profession is by and large under the control of public opinion, and it is before the public that teachers must present their claims.

What is needed is, then, not a union in the ordinary sense, but a guild—of which one or two approximations already exist—whose chief object should be to establish and maintain intelligent and dignified public relations. It should endeavor to tell the people what teachers are for, what they do and need, and why it seems best to support them more liberally than hitherto. This would have a double advantage: the first, a raising of the dignity of the profession; the second, an indirect training of the population in matters upon which they pass judgment whether they know it or not.

When one considers that almost every adult necessarily comes in contact with education by being a parent, a taxpayer, a member of a school board, a reader of books and periodicals, a library and museum visitor, or a radio listener, one can see the political need for closing the rift between the laity and the teaching profession. Parent-teacher associations cannot do it, or at least have not done it, for reasons too numerous to go into. But an association of teachers of all ranks and specialties, serving the interests of teachers before the public just as a medical association does, might in time improve a multitude of conditions, of which not the least is the reallocation of funds for the sake of a freer, richer, and more irresistible instruction.

A suggestion more ambitious still, but one which I find attractive and just in principle, would be to organize every college or university into a genuine company of scholars, the proceeds of whose work should be shared among themselves on a basis to be worked out equitably. Individual initiative could be encouraged by reserving a suitable portion of earnings and royalties to the author, while the rest would be credited to a fund for annual distribution among the group.* In most cases the university press could be the main agency for marketing the products of scholarship, both local and national. A healthy regional competition could arise and a somewhat stouter direction be thereby given to research. Whatever may seem utopian about this proposal—which has been made at various times and places—is really not so. Strict individualism in scholarship is an illusion. Scholars already engage in many cooperative ventures whose profits go into the General Fund; publishing a set of source- and textbooks is a case in point. The knowledge of twenty people goes into the work, and returns seldom accrue to the doers. Conversely the "authors" draw upon the brains and experience of their colleagues as well as upon the facilities, the books, and the time that belong strictly speaking to the community. A redistribution of joint annual earnings would be simply a clearer business arrangement.

Far from desiring a slovenly pooling of thine and mine, I should like to see at work throughout academic life a sharper sense of business values. Too many persons, inside and outside the profession, act as if a teacher's time or thought were a free commodity. It is flattering to be considered on the same plane as sunlight, but any guild of scholars should set its face against this belief and train its membership to put a proper price on their own services. I do not urge this to inaugurate monopoly gouging, but as a safeguard for quality and conditions of work, including self-respect.

As things now stand abuses are rife. Within the profession, nothing is more common than the request for free lectures, free concerts, even the free gift of books which one has written. Except when this type of charity has a clear excuse, all such requests should be steadfastly refused, with a precise explanation of the reason why. One college I know used to cry poor according to a set form, so as to obtain cheap the most interesting outside lecturers; yet it always had enough funds for the elaborate entertainment of trustees, parents, and graduating classes, as well as for expensive printing on all occasions. This amounts to the cynical and unethical practice of paying for luxuries by bilking the butcher. Choosing may be hard, but a college had better find out whether it loves wisdom better than tea cakes, for as one student absent-mindedly wrote on a paper, "You cannot serve God and Gammon at the same time."

Outside the profession all sorts of persons, clubs, and commercial firms have learned the same begging habit for obtaining professional services gratis or at a nominal fee. One wealthy and powerful publisher wishing an expert opinion on a manuscript intimated that since the house examined so many books, it could only pay a few dollars to have each one judged. Does the head of the firm speak to his doctor or lawyer in that graceful cadging way? The reverse of this

* President Hutchins's proposal, akin to this, has much to recommend it. He would raise all salaries, abolish intermediate ranks, appropriate all royalties, and grant two months' extra leave for "producing." My sole objection is to the reduction of the normal vacation to a single month, and to its extension only for the sake of turning out work. I am certain that teaching would again suffer. Three to four months free, without imposed obligations, is a strict *minimum* for all teachers.

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attempted graft is of course the distribution of free books, and teachers should have enough moral fiber to decline such gifts—which they ultimately pay for in the price of other books—so as to have a clear conscience when putting a price on their opinion as experts. Another well-dressed mendicant said to me: "This is a book you'd read anyhow. Read it for us in manuscript and we'll give you a copy—if we publish it." The mixed appeal to the gambling instinct, the love of bribery, and the urge for self-depreciation reaches here its perfection.

If the corporate business spirit has a proper role in our society—and it seems to be built into our very laws—the man of knowledge has a clear duty to insist on due remuneration. It is not because it only takes him a few minutes to give out information that therefore the information has cost him nothing. It is not because someone else's purpose is "educational" that therefore he must fulfil it free. As a distinguished violinist said, "I will gladly play without fee to your students—if you will refund to them the afternoon's tuition." And an author who was being "reasoned with" on the ground that his giving a judgment on an anthology would really mean a pleasant evening's reading cut the begging short with, "Sorry, my education's been too expensive."

The teacher and thinker must constantly bear in mind the special conditions that define his craft. He cannot count as aids to his advancement the pain and fear that favor the doctor or the apprehension of loss and disgrace that favor the lawyer. He has on his side only mankind's desire for light—the light that gives all other things their shape; and this, though a strong motive, is easily obscured by more immediate demands. The teacher must consequently sustain it most steadfastly in the very persons who neglect or forget it most easily. He must do this not for their good merely, though that is a real reason, but for his good wherever it is identifiable with the good of his calling. Like any other man, a teacher may be selfish and mistake private ends with public, but this possibility must not keep him from upholding the public ends he represents, even if these ends are expressed—as they are bound to be—in money. Without money, intellect is crippled, art starves, and science stagnates. If the field marshal is not ashamed to admit that money is the sinews of war, the teacher should feel no qualms in proclaiming that "alma mater" means first of all the nourishing mother.

[*This article, like its predecessor, Distrust of Brains, is taken from the author's forthcoming book, "Teacher in America," which will be published by Atlantic–Little, Brown later this month.*]

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I MET A FRIEND in Eighth Street and we repaired to a diner for a cup of coffee. He's writing a book, he had had a good morning, and he was jubilant. We talked about writing and its hazards. I should describe writers as a happy breed of men who are usually unhappy. The writer is either worried about something he has written or about something he's writing. If he isn't working at anything he's worried about that. He has his moments, of course, but they are not too frequent, and he knows very well that within a few hours he may be wondering what he ever saw in *that* paragraph. And one of the sad things about the whole process is that when he's jubilant he can foresee that he will shortly be discouraged but when he's discouraged he can't imagine being jubilant again. The outsider may well wonder why anyone persists in such a vocation. The insider knows that it's a compulsion, a sweet sorrow, that can't easily be exorcised.

IN MANY CASES it should be exorcised, but the tendency is all in the other direction. The desire to write is constantly taken for the capacity to write. This is one of the results, I suppose, of widespread literacy. The fact that words and sentences are the units of literature as well as of literacy obscures the difficulty and the talent and the hard work involved in creating a work of art which happens to be a book. Relatively few people feel that anybody could compose a symphony or paint a picture, let alone a good symphony or a good picture. A great many people feel that anybody could write a book. This circumstance has led to a great deal of useless suffering on the part of would-be writers who don't even know that writing is a craft. And, further to confuse the issue, it has led to the production of many chunks of printed paper which somebody is always willing to call books. So many of them and such bad ones that the authentic writer, in his down moments, may well decide that there is no point in adding his own drop to the flood.

The authentic writer, curiously enough, is more likely to feel that way than the non-writers of non-books. For him the answer is contained in a remark of Henry James. In one of his sketches of Venice James wonders if there is not a certain impudence in writing about a subject so much written about. Happily he proceeds, nevertheless, because, he says, "I hold any writer sufficiently justified who is himself in love with his theme." But one must really be in love with one's theme. And have a theme.

LATELY I've been getting more pleasure from music than from books. I wouldn't be surprised if Mr. Haggin's dissertation on "Music for the Man Who Enjoys 'Hamlet' " has had something to do with it. And I think it is partly because the language of music seems wonderfully fresh and pure and unhackneyed in a world up to its neck in words.

I'm very tired of words, especially public words. I sometimes wish that all public talking, in print or out, could be stopped for a week—on the radio, in newspapers, in halls—and then turned on only once a week. I'm sure the quality of the talk would be improved. There is something depressing about the compulsion to talk out loud every day of the year whether you have anything to say or not. And though I avoid columnists, radio commentators, and public speakers as I would the plague, the knowledge that they are going on unceasingly day in and day out is depressing enough.

From all this the miraculous and beautiful economy of Mozart and Beethoven and Schubert and Haydn is a blessed relief. And they really have something to say.

A WEEK OR SO AGO I received an irresistible invitation which began as follows: *Ad symposium platonicum, sed voluptatibus epicureis non alienum, convocant vos.* It was an

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Italianate affaire, gay and charming. The food was delicious and the "symposium" was very pleasant. Among other things I heard an amusing story about Gaetano Salvemini. He is reported to have told a young Italian American of his acquaintance, "Stop being an intellectual. Be a wop! Be a wop!" Salvemini is one of the great characters of our day. Anyone who spends an hour with him comes away with a sense of having had an experience; and I've noticed that such people when they speak of him involuntarily turn up the corners of their mouths in an unconscious reflection of his own Dionysian smile. He is technically an intellectual, but he's a "wop" too of the most delightful sort. In his politics he is what is known as uncompromising, but that is an extremely dull word for the beautiful gusto, the joyous intelligence, the gleaming integrity, with which he sails into arrogant imperialists, timid souls, and slithering politicians.

The last time I saw him he had just had news from his home town in Italy, where the people had danced and sung in the streets when Mussolini fell. He had been greatly amused and touched to hear that he, Salvemini, was a hero there. So much so that the townspeople were convinced that they had not been bombed because Salvemini had spoken to Roosevelt! It's too bad Roosevelt isn't more sensitive to the advice of Salvemini.

THE ✓ PEOPLE'S CHOICE

by Paul F. Lazarsfeld - Bernard Berelson - Hazel Gaudet

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DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

STARTLING

It is startling when you stop to think about it. Not a single principle of making decisions proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks conference is right.

WILLIAM CROCKER • Box 292 • PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

AFTER I HAD SAID what I thought of "Cannery Row" I reflected on the charge sometimes made that critics write nasty reviews of good books because they are jealous of the authors or have a generic compulsion to denounce and belittle. I think the charge is psychologically unsound, for according to my own experience and observation one's normal reactions to a book one likes are quite the opposite of jealousy and bad will. And I'm not speaking of the classics. My anger over "Cannery Row" was the obverse of my pleasure over, say, "The Leaning Tower." I wouldn't be caught dead writing "Cannery Row." I should be very glad to have written "The Leaning Tower"—but my feeling toward its author, in spite of the fact that she's another woman, is more like affection than anything else.

I should certainly call my feelings about both books personal. One's reactions to books and writers are personal and are bound to be because the stuff of art—emotion and idea—is very close to where one lives. It is one thing to be "objective" about emotions and ideas with which one is not sympathetic. Justice Holmes remarks in one of his letters that "to be civilized is to be potentially master of all possible ideas, and that means that one has got beyond being shocked, although one preserves one's own moral and aesthetic preferences." The critic, likewise, should be potentially master of all possible ideas and emotions. But I wouldn't put much faith in a critic who isn't shocked by the falsification of emotion or idea.

I'M ALSO SHOCKED by books in which characters are reduced to less than human status. Albert Jay Nock, in his autobiography, made a statement to the effect that he had felt more comfortable since he had decided that most human beings aren't human. That is one way of compensating for the inadequacy we all feel in coping with the world we live in. It is not a very admirable way; and it is not a creative way. For the novelist it is peculiarly self-defeating, no matter how many best-sellers it may yield. For him it is a case simply of fouling his own nest. Human beings are both his end and his means. In so far as he denies them their quality of being human he deprives them of significance either as instruments of self-expression or of communication with the human beings who are his readers. He might better write about the curious and amusing behavior of fleas or frogs—which has its own quite different interest.

Some weeks ago in the *New Yorker* Edmund Wilson said with what seemed to me astounding complacency that such books as Caldwell's "God's Little Acre" and "Tragic Ground" are no longer attacked as they once were because "we are prepared, as our grandfathers were not, to study human behavior on the animal level." (I had evidence of this the other day when by chance I came upon a radio program which was a horrible caricature of "Tobacco Road"—and all the more horrible for being "clean" in the radio sense of the word.)

I'm not the least bit complacent about this tendency in fiction—though I grant that the study of human behavior on the animal level may have its uses in science. But I doubt that it has much of a future in fiction for the simple reason that human beings as animals soon cease to be interesting, just as any monstrosity eventually becomes boring.

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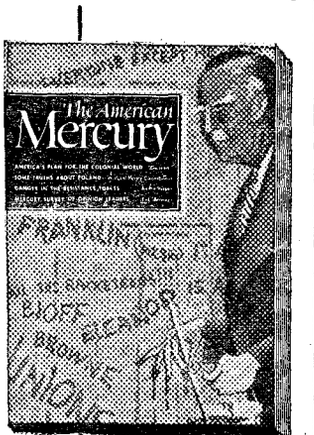
AMERICA'S PLAN TO FREE ALL COLONIES

Churchill blusters, but other highly placed Britons nod agreement as Washington plans a postwar world in which no nation "owns" a single colony! Does the plan make sense? Is the end of imperialism really in sight . . . can we bring freedom to the world's 600,000,000 subject people . . . what obligation is America ready to assume in the new scheme of things? "America's Plan for the Colonial World" is an authoritative, illuminating document from the pen of an insider—a man whose connections with European governments demand anonymity. Read it in THE AMERICAN MERCURY for February.

WHO WILL GOVERN POLAND?

The first nation to war against the Nazis has become a major stumbling block for Russia and the Western Powers. Is there more than meets the eye behind Russian recognition of the "Lublin Government" and our refusal to extend recognition? Does Russia really want a puppet Poland? What does the record of Russian relations with the Polish Underground indicate? William Henry Chamberlin, noted student of Russian history, documents his thought-provoking conclusions in "Some Truths About Poland."

THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for February—OUT NOW



What will *you* turn to first in this month's MERCURY? *Pegler: Tough Guy Columnist* is a profile in acid of a writer who doesn't let his police-court reporter's mind stop him from posing as an oracle on national and world affairs. *Life in Spain Today* is a graphic description of surface glitter and inner sordidness in a land seething with intrigue. In *A Mercury Survey of Opinion Leaders* publicist Edward L. Bernays makes ten important predictions for postwar America, based on a survey of leaders whose views have correctly foreshadowed popular opinion. *Ship Workers in the Northwest* unveils a shocking picture of workers loafing at the very time frantic advertisements appeal for more ship workers to bolster lagging production. *Hope for Alcoholics* is the encouraging story of New York's experiment with alcoholics—a treatment that seems actually to work . . . Seven other arresting articles, essays and sketches enrich the pages of the February MERCURY—plus such regular features as *Down To Earth* by noted naturalist-writer Alan Devoe, *The Theatre* by George Jean Nathan, Fiction, Poetry, Books, Cartoon, Open Forum.

How Important Are Mercury Articles?

Within its own domain the Library Poster carries the prestige and authority of a Dun & Bradstreet report. Each month the Poster lists the ten best current magazine articles published in America, selected by a jury of three outstanding librarians—Rollin A. Sawyer of the New York Public Library, Charles H. Compton of the St. Louis Public Library, and Dr. Luther H. Evans of the Library of Congress. From August to December 1944 thousands of articles in hundreds of magazines were checked. The jury chose the best 50 . . . *and 11 of them were* MERCURY *articles!* Here indeed is evidence of the importance of MERCURY content . . . explanation for THE MERCURY'S rise to an all-time high in circulation . . . reason for its reputation as "the magazine of opinion that makes things happen."

Lawrence E. Spivak PUBLISHER

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I've just read "Tragic Ground." And in fairness to Mr. Caldwell it must be said that his latest book is not merely an account of the subhuman characteristics of Tobacco Roaders. Like "Trouble in July" it grants them humanity by putting them in a social context which explains their predicament. But it is not nearly so good as "Trouble in July" in this or any other respect. As story it lacks the drama and suspense of the earlier book, and it is quite devoid of any sense of tragedy. In some ways it seems, indeed, like a mere mechanical repetition of "Trouble in July."

Caldwell's venture into the Russian scene led me to say that he had better stick to God's little acre. But "Tragic Ground" makes me feel that he has exhausted that soil. The characters it yields are so uncomplicated, their behavior and especially their sexual behavior, their humor, and their way of speaking are so familiar and predictable by now that they have become tiresome.

SEVERAL PEOPLE have spoken of my note on Tintoretto's "A Doge in Prayer Before the Redeemer" in a way which made me feel as if I had uttered a password which admitted me to their own intense pleasure in some work of art. And one friend out west writes that she had "that same experience at the Metropolitan. It was on a Saturday night during a symphony concert and I stood in front of one of the big Egyptian Pharaohs—granite. There was a sign saying 'Do not touch,' but I did. I will never forget it."

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BRIEFER COMMENT

The Philosophy of Logic

IT BECOMES more and more obvious that the science of formal logic is an independent discipline whose progress depends on men able and willing to devote themselves to it as a profession. Nevertheless, it remains for the philosopher to examine the method and presuppositions of logic very much as he would examine physics, economics, or history. It is the philosophy of logic that Professor Cohen treats in most of the studies in "A Preface to Logic" (Henry Holt, $2.50). What is formal logic? what are propositions? what is implication? what are concepts? Such questions illustrate his concern—one which is fully justified yet different from the more technical and equally justified concern of symbolic logicians.

Readers of his "Reason and Nature" will find it rather easy to predict most of Professor Cohen's answers, and those who were convinced by that *specimen eruditionis* will feast upon this one. But those who weren't will continue to ask him what he means by "possible" when he says that logic is the science of all possible being, and whether he can avoid the vicious circle of defining the possible in terms of logic. They will find the correlation of 87 per cent between the membership of the International Machinists' Union and the death rate of the state of Hyderabad again offered in proof of the difference betwen statistical and causal connection. But they will continue to press for a clearer answer when they are told (again) that causation involves a "thread of identity" between cause and effect. Those who suspected a bit of shadow-boxing in his early attack on Bacon will see a new sparring partner in Carnap, some of whose views may well be criticized but who never says—as Cohen says he does, on page 57—that "unverified statements are meaningless." Surely a philosophical grammarian (*pace* Peirce) should distinguish between "unverified" and "unverifiable."

And yet, in spite of all this, many will come away with great respect for a thinker who has survived several waves of obscurantism and many muddled attacks on the method of science. Professor Cohen is no fair-weather friend of reason, but still thinks of logic as an indispensable element of liberal civilization and free thought. We find ourselves reading a learned man who, after having served City College so long and so well, has dedicated this book to it and its students. They will appreciate this moving gesture and will always remember him as their greatest teacher.

MORTON G. WHITE

George (Apley) Wharton Pepper

GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER is an old dear, and his autobiography, "Philadelphia Lawyer" (J. B. Lippincott, $3.75), is completely disarming. The ex-Senator, like Miniver Cheevy, was born too late. Instead of coming into this confusing world in 1867 in the Walnut Street home, the Gentleman from Philadelphia might well have found an eighteenth-century setting more congenial. He would then have been a leader of the Pennsylvania Federalist junto, and one can easily picture him tearing up copies of that rabble-

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rouser Duane's *Aurora* until such time as the stage from New York would bring Mr. Hamilton's *Evening Post,* in which undoubtedly "Mad Tom" Jefferson would be skinned alive.

About the man there is the shining integrity of a Chippendale piece setting him off from his fellow-survivors of the Hamilton system, such as Nicholas Murray Butler or the present Secretary of War. He is, above all things, a good man, whose first act as Senator was to vote against the unseating of the ineffable Truman H. Newberry of Michigan. (He tells us that to this day he gets "angry" whenever he thinks of the injustice done to the man whose devoted friends contributed $195,000 for the primary nomination.)

Pretty soon Teapot Dome blew off. "The record of President Harding was smirched," says the author gravely, "as is always the case when a too-trusting executive is betrayed by a subordinate: but I have yet to see the slightest bit of evidence that he knew or suspected what was going on"! (Exclamation mark ours.) No one should miss pages 203 to 206, the section headed I Liked Them Both, in which Senator Pepper gives us his estimates of Presidents Harding and Coolidge, not omitting the usual sling at "that man." It is a priceless picture of the Conservative mind.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Do Ideas Make Literature?

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS has done well to reissue Mary M. Colum's seven-year-old "From These Roots: the Ideas That Have Made Modern Literature" ($2.50). Suave and unacademic, Mrs. Colum's book is a much-needed survey of dominant ideas in and about Western literature since Lessing. The thesis of the book is that modern literary ideas were laid down by Lessing and Herder, confirmed and extended by Wordsworth, Coleridge, De Stael, Sainte-Beuve, and Taine, and exhausted by later generations. Today, Mrs. Colum concludes, a new Lessing is needed "to achieve some liberating ideas" and "to make some clear recognizable boundaries between the various kinds of writing."

Full of interesting *obiter dicta,* and by and large a very useful book, "From These Roots" is especially welcome in these days for its sound correlations of English, American, French, German, and Russian (unfortunately not Scandinavian) literary opinion; by reminding us of forgotten facts Mrs. Colum alters many of our opinions of both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Unhappily, her account of recent generations is patchy and capricious. Considerations of space would excuse a certain superficiality, but they do not excuse, for instance, her cavalier treatment of Marxism or her failure to mention I. A. Richards and the best critics of today. Since Mrs. Colum is at odds with "the new critics" as to what criticism is, she might at least have paid them the compliment of a refutation. Had she paid them even the compliment of reading their work she might, I think, have come to view more skeptically the major premise of her book, to wit, that literature is made by ideas; and the *ease* with which she assumes this and other things makes some of Mrs. Colum's writing seem inadequate. But all this is to complain of what Mrs. Colum has *not* done. What she *has* done is good.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

Russian Economics

A MORE APPROPRIATE TITLE for J. F. Normano's "The Spirit of Russian Economics" (John Day, $2) would have been "Foreign Influences in Russian Social Thought" or something to that effect. Even the most Russian of Russia's ideological movements, Slavophilism, was heavily indebted to German philosophy. There certainly is throughout this useful little book an unreconciled, and possibly irreconcilable, dichotomy between the author's factual report of the influence of foreign ideas and his conclusions. Another writer, working with the same material, could easily have concluded that Russian economic thought has been altogether devoid of any originality, and that even such adjustment of foreign dogmas to Russian conditions as was attempted was pedantic and academic.

The author surveys the influence of British Smithianism, French physiocratic thought and Saint-Simonism, German cameralism, historicism, *Katheder-Sozialismus,* Marxism, and other foreign economic ideas in nineteenth-century Russia. Readily imported, these ideas were equally readily discarded because they failed, in the long run, to satisfy Russia's needs.

While Normano is probably right in saying that Slavophilism served Russian industry as a defense against European competition, his statement that the economic motive of the Russian Revolution "was the necessity to fight not primarily Western capitalism as a whole but its nearest and most dangerous position: German penetration," is not only historically untrue but also theoretical nonsense. It is contradicted by the Allied intervention against Bolshevism, by the close cooperation between Germany and Russia in the twenties, and by the writings of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"REBECCA," now current at the Barrymore Theater, is not by any reasonable definition of the term a play. It is, to be sure, divided into three acts of two scenes each, and dialogue is spoken by actors in costume who move about a stage. But such a composition is not really a play, not really even a bad play, unless some attempt has been made to tell a story in some fashion capable of making it both intelligible and interesting in its own right. No such attempt has here been made.

By all this I do not mean merely to assert in some unnecessarily elaborate fashion that Miss Daphne Du Maurier is an incompetent dramatist. From the records of her publisher it is evident that she has some kind of competence as a writer of prose fiction, and for all I know, she might be capable of writing a competent play if she should ever try. What I do mean to say is that this confused and hurried jumble of incidents in which the antecedents of the actions, the motives of the performers, and the intentions of the author are usually equally unclear, is a jumble which would never have been thrown together in just this way by any dramatist, however incompetent, who was free to shape his story as he told it. If there had never been a novel of the same name, no author could conceivably have desired to write this script, and no producer into whose hands such a script fell would dream of producing it if he did not also know that some other work of which this was supposed to be some sort of approximation was already in existence.

Improbable as to many it will no doubt appear, I have not read "Rebecca" as a novel, or seen it as a movie, or heard it on the radio. I am, therefore, in no position to say what merits the story may possibly exhibit in some telling other than that with which I am familiar, and I must confine myself to the remark that I can only suppose the original to have been a novel which ought to have been written by Mrs. Henry Wood and entitled "The Mistress of Manderley; or Lord de Winter's Terrible Secret." If, for some reasons which I find it impossible to imagine, this judgment upon the original work is unjust, the injustice is totally irrelevant to the alleged play under consideration. The best judge of any dramatization is inevitably one who is innocent of all knowledge of its original source, since only such a judge can be sure that his memory of facts or effects is not making him suppose that he is getting from the play something actually not there at all, and I solemnly assure any prospective spectators who happen to be as ignorant as I am that from the goings on at the Barrymore they cannot possibly get anything except a confused impression of some very lurid doings which seem to involve a man who murders his wife because she is a bit of a nymphomaniac and then takes up with a timid halfwit who helps him fool the coroner. I can also assure him that for the most part the acting is, if anything, a little worse than the script would inevitably force it to be. Of the leading performers Diana Barrymore probably deserves the highest praise, which in this case must consist in the statement that she detracts little or nothing from an impossible role. Florence Reed, as the sinister servant, acts sinister without making it very clear what she is being sinister about. Bramwell Fletcher, bouncing about the stage in a wispily jaunty fashion, gives what must be one of the most unconvincing portraits of a grand seigneur ever seen on any stage. Oddly enough, two supporting players—namely, George Baxter as the nymphomaniac's lover-in-chief and Reginald Mason as a county official—give excellent performances.

By contrast with "Rebecca" almost anything which makes an attempt to stand on its own legs is bound to seem worthy of a certain praise. Unfortunately, however, the only other productions upon which I have opportunity to comment here both impose a pretty severe strain upon the good-will with which I approach them. "Good Night Ladies" (Royale Theater) is an old Hopwood farce remade for the war-time trade and become little more than an excuse for parading a group of young ladies in various approximations to the nude. Several of them look very well that way, but anyone thinking of going to see for himself should be warned that he will be surprised at one thing—namely, the jokes which persons of mature years and apparently urban background have never heard before. "A Lady Says Yes" (Broadhurst Theater) remains a strictly Grade B musical show despite the agreeable presence of Carole Landis. The rather painful plot which seems to concern itself somehow with the dream of a man who is having his nose remade is no doubt accounted for by the fact that the author is said to be a successful plastic surgeon who is further alleged to have helped out financially with the production.

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE title "Sunday Dinner for a Soldier" suggests to me a movie that could be made in a dozen or a thousand versions, all of them good; but the version that has been made is not one of them. The family which stages the dinner lives on a houseboat near Tarpon Springs, Florida. The nominal head of the family is Charles Winninger with white whiskers; everybody calls him Grandfeathers. The actual head is Anne Baxter; she is wondering whether or not to marry a rich young man who can't understand why she dances all alone (to the music of a large invisible orchestra and chorus) in the sand-foundered ballroom of a derelict hotel. Other members of the family are a pretty little sister who loves a hen named Miss Easter, and two little brothers, one of whom says of a flower, "It stinks swell." These are represented as nice people, but very poor and, in their poverty, ever so whimsical and lucky. John Hodiak, the soldier who turns up for Sunday dinner, comes of nice people too, in a social and money sense, but his parents were divorced when he was twelve and he ran away when he was fourteen and worked in factories; so he too enjoys the advantages of all the classes and suffers the disadvantages of none. One of the ads for the film says of his romance with Miss Baxter, "Their eyes met! Their lips questioned! Their arms answered!" and though both players try to be reasonable about it, that is not much of an oversimplification.

I sat through the picture in a misery of embarrassment, which intensifies as I try to write about it. I feel embarrassment rather than simple anger because most of the people who worked on the show appear to have loved it, believed in it, and had great hopes for its originality and worthiness. The confused but genuine sweetness of their intention is as visible through all the mawkish formulas, and as disturbing, as a drowned corpse never quite surfacing. I cannot bear to say in detail why I found the film so distasteful. To do so would be like spending a self-controlled day with an

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innocently awful family, then sneering at all that was painful to you but dear to them.

"Shanghai Drama" was the last movie G. W. Pabst made in France before he went over to the Nazis. I understand that it was heavily censored by the French (including this American print), but it is hard for me to imagine that that can have made much difference. Shot by shot, some of it is interesting and nostalgically satisfying; even at his best Pabst is heavy as lead, but even at his worst he is also gifted. But the story—White Russians forced to work for Black Dragon agents—is like Malraux redone for the pulps. The worst we can do can hardly match the Europeans when they take their trash seriously.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

WEBSTER AITKEN'S series of three piano recitals at Town Hall is in part retrospective: at the first he played Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations, which he played at his debut recital in New York ten years ago. I happened to be present at that debut, not because of any knowledge or expectation concerning Aitken's playing, but because of an interest in the infrequently heard "Diabelli" Variations. But the performance I heard led me to describe the recital as "one of the most notable events of this or any season; for it presented . . . a young man who is already a matured pianist, musician, and artist." And later, urging *Nation* readers to hear him, I wrote: "What is remarkable about him is not so much his rich endowment of technique and musical feeling as his integration of these resources, and behind this the inner integration of experience and emotion. This—astonishing in one so young—manifests itself both in his choice of music to play and in the way he plays it, and lifts him in both respects out of the group of gifted young American pianists to a place among a handful of living artists . . . [It] causes Aitken's mind to be attracted by such gigantic musical matters as Beethoven's 'Diabelli' Variations or the 'Goldberg' Variations of Bach; he plays one of these works in public because of what it means to him and out of a desire to communicate this to other people; and the resources he brings to his task are evident only in the coherence and power of the work as he plays it, the unobtrusive adequacy with which its every formidable technical requirement is satisfied."

The ten years have further matured him, so that today he is able to impart even greater coherence and power to the "Diabelli" Variations. But even more impressive for me, at his recent recital, was his playing of a smaller, less immediately imposing work—Mozart's extraordinary Rondo K. 511 in A minor. The grace of the flow of melody, the strength of its phraseological articulation, the gradual building-up of tension to the last powerful statement, the unflawed beauty of the sound in which all this was achieved—these made the impact of this quiet, unemphatic piece, in the end, overwhelming; and in their quiet, subtle way they provided an overwhelming demonstration of the powers of a great musician and a master of the piano.

Victor's February list is devoted chiefly to recordings by Marian Anderson, Rachmaninov, Morini, and Primrose of the little pieces of sticky candy that such musicians feed their concert, radio, and phonograph audiences, and that don't call for discussion here. In addition it offers a set (986; $4.50) of Brahms's Sonata Opus 78 for violin and piano—a characteristic Brahms product, with its saccharine themes and their aridly synthetic involvements to produce large structure. Making it worse is the tremulous tone and phrasing of Yehudi Menuhin, with the piano part reduced to a faint murmur possibly by the recording engineers but probably by Hephzibah herself, who persisted in deferring to the brother whom she far surpassed. And on a single disc (11-8729; $1) is a good performance by Boult with the Hallé Orchestra of Liadov's "Kikimora," a very slight piece in the style of Rimsky-Korsakov.

Continental Record Company has issued under the title "Encore!" a set of three 10-inch discs with the pianist Andor Földes's performances of a number of small pieces: three of Brahms's Waltzes Opus 39, Liszt's "Valse oubliée," Chopin's C sharp minor Mazurka and C major Prelude, Debussy's "Maid with the Flaxen Hair," Gershwin's Prelude in B flat, arrangements of Prokofiev's March from "The Love of Three Oranges" and Shostakovitch's Polka from "The Golden Age," and also a Fantastic Dance by Shostakovitch. Some of the playing that Földes did with Szigeti was good enough; but I recall writing about my dissatisfaction with his playing in Szigeti's Mozart sonata series at the Y. M. H. A.; and his solo performances in this set I find heavy-handed, mannered, and sentimental.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dr. Magnes and Palestine

Dear Sirs: In your issue of December 23 you published a letter from Dr. Judah L. Magnes giving his views on the Palestine situation as a resident of that country. I have lived in Palestine for some twenty-four years and have had extensive dealings and close contact with Jews and Arabs in the practice of my profession as a lawyer and as adviser to the Jewish Agency for Palestine. I believe the views expressed here are shared by the overwhelming majority of Jews in Palestine.

The problem confronting the Jews is not, as Dr. Magnes suggests, how to give the Jews the chance for a larger immigration. It is how to insure to every Jew who needs or wishes to go to Palestine the right to do so, how to put an end to the national homelessness of the Jewish people. Zionists believe this can be done only by enabling the Jews to develop their national life in a country of their own. They consider that the Jews have the same right as all other peoples to live as a nation in the land which was their cradle, the land which owes its place in history to the Jews.

If one were to accept Dr. Magnes's proposition that Jewish immigration into Palestine should be arbitrarily restricted to 500,000 additional Jews, one would at once be confronted with the question which Arabs might put, why as many as 500,000, or that which the Jews would put, why only 500,000?

Dr. Magnes commits another error of approach when he bases his case on the need to allay the "fear" of the Arabs. Whether that "fear" is real or a political pretext for opposing legitimate Jewish aspirations, it should not be permitted to interfere with a just decision upon the Jewish claim. If we are to be kept from attaining our rightful goal because the Arabs fear, or say they fear, the consequences, they need only allege that fear and the Jews would lose their right to reconstitute Palestine as their homeland. That would be neither reasonable nor morally justifiable. Would Dr. Magnes suggest that the Arabs be prohibited from achieving independence in Syria or the Lebanon if the Jews allege, as they well might, that they fear in such a case that the Syrians and Lebanese might wish at some future date to attack the Jews? I venture to doubt it. Dr. Magnes's conviction that the Jewish people can be won over to a proposal for "bi-nationalism" of the type he indicates is without a shred of justification. He knows, or should know, that the vast majority, indeed all but a negligible percentage of the Jews in Palestine, are most definitely opposed to such a scheme. He knows that at the American Jewish Conference held in New York last year, representative of virtually the entire Jewish community of the United States, a resolution was enthusiastically adopted by some 480 delegates out of a total of 500 favoring the opposite of what he suggests—namely, the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. How in the face of these facts Dr. Magnes ventures to express his pious but chimerical hope that the Jews would agree to his bi-nationalism compromise is a riddle I cannot solve.

The attitude of the Arabs is no different. I invite Dr. Magnes to furnish evidence that a single one of the numerous Arab political parties has ever given the slightest justification for such a belief. The fact is, the Arabs are sufficiently intelligent to understand that you cannot artificially keep the number of Jews and Arabs equal.

Dr. Magnes also fails to point out that the question is not one between the Jews of Palestine and the Arabs of Palestine, but one between the Jewish people and the Arab people. The Arabs have six independent countries in which they are free to live their national life as they please—Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. These countries are one hundred times the size of Palestine. Are the Jews not to have the right to one little country where they too will be free to live their national life as they think right?

Dr. Magnes speaks of political parity. Those who share his opinion have been challenged to explain how a state will function in which Jews and Arabs have an equal voice and equal voting power. Clearly it will be faced by a stalemate from the very first day of its existence and will be unable to carry on.

Dr. Magnes is so concerned about Arab "fears" that he goes on to suggest that there be created a larger union of Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and the Lebanon. Why two other Arab states, Syria and the Lebanon, should be expected to join such a union to allay the "fears" of Arabs in Palestine is another

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riddle. One would have thought that states usually take such steps only because they consider them to be in their own interest. This is but another instance of the hopelessly unrealistic nature of Dr. Magnes's proposal, which is made in complete disregard of the fact that repeatedly during the last few months the Lebanese government, through its Prime Minister, categorically declared that the Lebanon would not entertain any proposal to enter a federation which would in any way impair its complete independence and full sovereignty.

The effect of Dr. Magnes's proposal should at least be clear. He can envisage the existence of independent Arab states. They already exist. But he apparently cannot contemplate the existence again of a Jewish state. To the Jewish people he counsels the abandonment of all hope to live again as a people. They are to remain the one people discriminated against. They are to be a pariah among the nations. It is to this inferior, second-grade status that Dr. Magnes would have his readers believe the Jews of Palestine will agree. I am afraid Dr. Magnes fails to understand the spirit and mind of the Jews of Palestine despite his twenty-two years of residence in the country. If there were any danger of a Jewish revolt in Palestine, it would be against precisely the scheme Dr. Magnes is advocating, a scheme which would bar Palestine to the entry of Jews and condemn the Jewish people forever to inferior status by preventing them from achieving national independence in their ancient homeland. To such a fate the Jews cannot possibly be expected to submit. BERNARD JOSEPH

New York, December 28

Notes on the "Digest"

Dear Sirs: I wish to correct a few misinterpretations that happened to appear in Fulton Oursler's reply to your editorial on the *Reader's Digest.*

First, let me, as a member of the Magazines Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English which made the report Mr. Oursler referred to, reassure him that the Executive Committee did not reject our report but voted to *continue* the study for another year *after* we on the committee agreed to it. This may be corroborated by consulting the accounts of the convention as published in the Chicago *Sun,* the New York *Times, PM, Variety, Tide, Newsweek,* and many other papers during the week of November 23, 1944.

Second, as to Mr. Oursler's statistics on "cooperative planning," let me quote the statistics I compiled in an article I wrote on the *Reader's Digest* for the *English Journal* (June, 1943) entitled The Rainbow. For the year 1942, out of a total of 411 articles, 70 were "undigested," or a percentage of 17. The percentage ranged from a low of 12 per cent in May and August to a high of 25 in November.

Third, in that same article, I asked the question our committee asked the *Reader's Digest* to answer, to no avail: Is the *Reader's Digest* still a digest? The figures say no. We maintain that the *Digest* is a journal of opinion, comparable to *The Nation,* and not the falsely claimed champion "of both sides" as it claims. *The Nation* does not hesitate to admit that it is biased in favor of liberalism. If the *Digest* has a bias—and we think it has—why doesn't it come right out and say so? We are willing to settle for just that alone. Does the *Digest* have the courage to do it?

SAMUEL BECKOFF

Long Island City, N. Y., January 10

Yugoslav Relief Ship

Dear Sirs: For the last three years the Yugoslav people have made a disproportionate and unusual contribution to the victory of the United Nations. They have done it practically without aid from anybody—in fact, in the face of persistent unwillingness in the United States and Britain to recognize that contribution.

Perhaps thousands of American soldiers who fought in Africa and Sicily or who are still fighting in Italy are alive today partly because Tito's Yugoslav Liberation Army and partisan detachments, using weapons captured from the enemy, were keeping large German forces pinned down in Yugoslavia away from the fronts on which our men are fighting.

The Yugoslavs did this at an almost unimaginable sacrifice. Nearly two million of their best men and women, girls and boys, have perished in the struggle. This is as if the United States had lost fifteen million of its finest people.

Now, those who have managed to survive these three terrible years face death or the bitterest hardship for lack of the most elementary supplies. Over 70 per cent of their national wealth has been destroyed. Their houses, their cities, their fields have been devastated or stripped, and seven million people, more than half of them children, are

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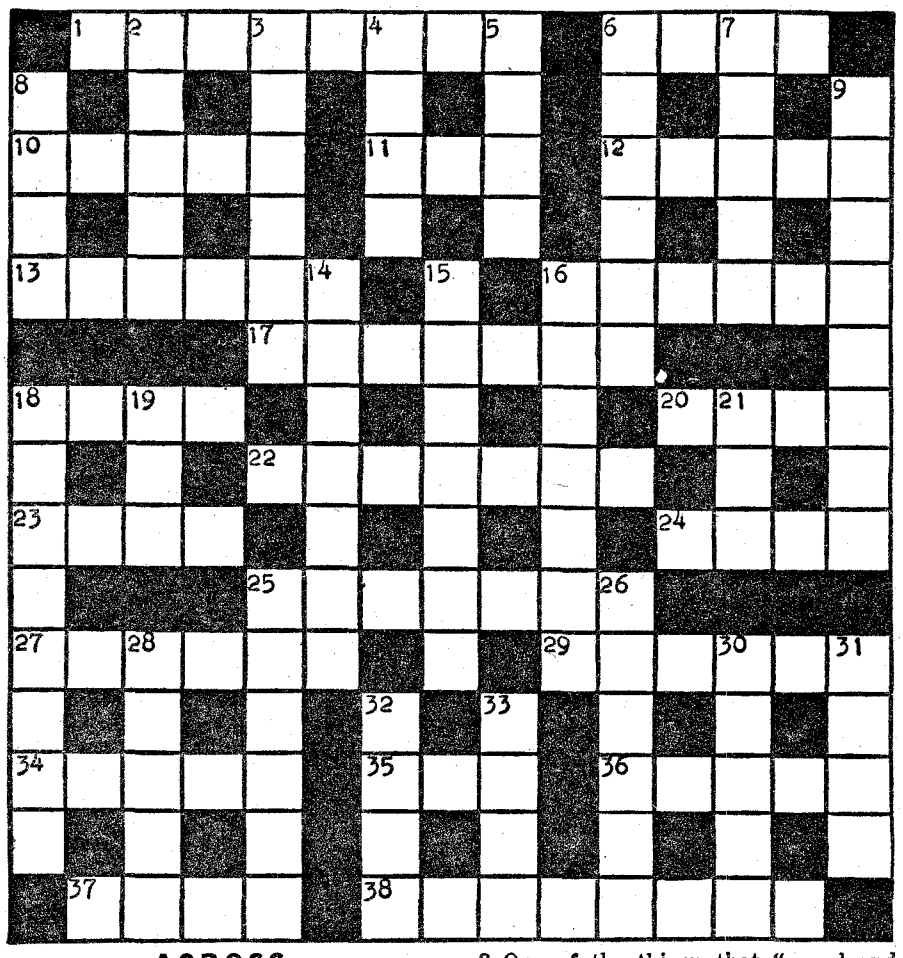
Crossword Puzzle No. 101

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 "I will take my -------- oath on it" (*Don Quixote*)
6 No amount of pull will help you if the door has this on it
10 Cop it in the eye
11 Shy in company
12 This comic is Gilbertian
13 Profited by giving Ned an ear
16 Pussy-footed
17 He illustrated the "Alice" stories
18 The bird inside wants out, and the bird outside wants in
20 Downpour in the Ukraine
22 Where even the briskest walker adopts a shuffling step at last
23 Grit
24 Back room
25 Politely called "puree" (two words, 3 and 4)
27 Completely put out, a nightbird goes to bed
29 Cobbler's work, this
34 Confess (two words, 3 and 2)
35 Single, but not all alone
36 Lifeless
37 We are, or used to be
38 All that is left when grandmother has learned her lesson

DOWN

2 Extreme. Transpose the last two letters to make it more extreme
3 Steamship, or part of its cargo
4 The common run
5 Wagers
6 Lost Pa in a government department!
7 Herds in a scrap
8 One of the things that "gyred and gimbled in the wabe" (*Jabberwocky*)
9 An English capitalist?
14 Removed from high office
15 Resigns (anag.)
16 You and I impersonated by Peggy —the flighty creature!
18 This accounts for how the money goes (two words, 4 and 4)
19 Sure thing
21 "It was a mighty while ---" (Ben Jonson)
25 Yours may be your parents or your nation
26 One requires a lot of this to shine in society
28 Flinch
30 Attainable, perhaps, but rarely attained
31 Character in *The Mikado* who stops just short of being rude (hyphen, 2-2)
32 Drink like a fish
33 Ice usually precedes this

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 100

ACROSS:—1 COBALT; 5 STUPOR; 9 OATCAKE; 11 RETURN; 12 ANDREW; 13 EGOISTS; 14 ORES; 17 STIR; 19 NUNNERIES; 22 FIEND; 23 INEPT; 25 AROUND; 26 AERIAL; 27 EIGHT; 29 GIBED; 31 ALIENATED; 34 LAIR; 36 RIPE; 37 EMANATE; 39 CURARI; 40 ELOPED; 41 STREETS; 42 SLEUTH; 43 EARTHY.

DOWN:—1 CARTON; 2 BATTEN; 3 LORE; 4 TANGERINE; 5 SKATE; 6 TENS; 7 PIRATE; 8 REWARD; 10 CHINEE; 15 RUMANIA; 16 SNOOKER; 17 SIMILAR; 18 IN SLEEP; 20 INDIA; 21 SPAHI; 24 TETE-A-TETE; 28 GLANCE; 29 GLACIS; 30 BIERCE; 32 TIPPET; 33 DEADLY; 35 SMITH; 37 ERST; 38 ELSA.

without clothing and blankets. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children will starve or freeze to death this winter if supplies do not reach them soon.

To help meet their critical need, plans have been made to send a relief ship to Yugoslavia loaded with used warm clothing, tinned foods, and medical supplies. The American Committee for the Yugoslav Relief Ship at 58 Park Avenue, New York, has been formed by the War Relief Fund of Americans of South Slavic Descent to conduct the emergency drive to fill the ship.

This is an appeal to your readers to go through their trunks and closets and attics and pick out their used but still serviceable clothing of all sorts and sizes and any blankets and quilts they can spare. If they send the articles at once to the committee, it is highly probable that their contributions will warm someone in liberated Yugoslavia this winter.

I beg your readers to bring this appeal to the attention of others in their neighborhood, to people in their office, shop, school, library, club, or church. It may be, for instance, that some clothing merchant or manufacturer has overstocks of unsalable garments and other articles. All such goods will be deeply welcome in Yugoslavia.

Neighborhood, school, church, or shop collecting committees might be started. Volunteer help of all kinds is needed.

Clothing may be brought to our headquarters, American Committee for the Yugoslav Relief Ship, 58 Park Avenue, New York (LExington 2-2708), or may be mailed to our warehouse, 161 Perry Street. LOUIS ADAMIC

New York, December 18

CONTRIBUTORS

GRAYSON KIRK is professor of government at Columbia University.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG has been a sympathetic reporter on Russia since 1921.

DOROTHY B. JONES was formerly head of the Film Reviewing and Analysis Section of the OWI. The opinions expressed in her article, however, are her own.

MILBURN P. AKERS is political editor of the Chicago *Sun*.

JACQUES BARZUN is an associate professor of history at Columbia University.

MORTON G. WHITE is an instructor in philosophy at Columbia University.

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